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Sacagawea: A Uniquely American Legend

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Sacagawea: A uniquely American legend

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A Uniquely American Legend

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B.S., University of Mary, 1976
M.A., North Dakota State University, 1979

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An Abstract of
A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

In an examination of American texts produced from 1804 to 1989, this dissertation delineates that Sacagawea became a legendary figure because she has exemplified critical elements of narrative traditions recounting the nation's sacred beginnings. As a plethora of works have portrayed Sacagawea as the Indian princess of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, she became an important emblem of manifest destiny. Flexible within its mythic framework, the Sacagawea legend has additionally enabled proponents to confront timely cultural issues, such as women suffrage, taboos against miscegenation, and modern feminism.

Chapter one provides a review of American frontier myths, concepts of sacred mission and native savagery, as well as Sacagawea's connection to such ideas through her characterization as an Indian princess. As Chapter two details, expedition diaries and early editorial compilations reflected and reinforced implicit frontier traditions as they presented the story of the mission. Defining Sacagawea as a savage squaw, these germinal works provided the ground work upon which the Sacagawea legend was erected. Chapter three establishes that American creators of the progressive period transformed her into an Indian princess, thereby initiating and proliferating the Sacagawea legend. While many progressive era texts employed Sacagawea to justify women suffrage, each work

demonstrated her cultural usefulness by proclaiming her an "American" heroine based on her cooperation during the journey. As Chapter four delineates, proponents of the Sacagawea story offered variations and elaborations of the legend between the 1930s and 1969. Rehearsing concepts of the nation's mission and native savagery, they maintained a connection to rationalized frontier myths as they additionally tested timely ideologies, especially miscegenation. Chapter five relates that within the past two decades, most Sacagawea texts, including one characterizing her as a proto-feminist, have upheld frontier traditions. Breaking with typical approaches to the narrative, a recent work uses Sacagawea to question the rectitude of manifest destiny.

Chapter six summarizes the history of Sacagawea narratives, works that have consistently commented on national myths while allowing a populace to test issues unfolding within a dynamic society. For nearly two centuries, Sacagawea has endured as an important historical figure, her persistent animation addressing the needs and aspirations of Euro-American culture.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER ONE

SACAGAWEA: A UNIQUELY AMERICAN LEGEND

A Shoshone woman--the child-captive of the Hidatsas, subsequent wife of a French fur trader, and purported guide to the Lewis and Clark Expedition--has become one of the most renowned figures of the American West. Sacagawea[1] is that woman. Since 1805, commentaries about Sacagawea have proliferated throughout American culture. Based on the number of statues, paintings, novels, films, musical compositions, and histories that have focused on her, as well as rivers, mountains, and lakes named in her honor, scholars from a variety of disciplines have declared that Sacagawea has been the most honored of all "American" heroines. As data from a survey I conducted in 1989 reveal, she remains a widely recognized national figure. Of the nearly five hundred survey participants, more than twenty percent recalled and recorded Sacagawea's name and historical context surrounding her narrative.[2] Not only is she quite well-known throughout America, but survey data also indicate that Sacagawea is especially remembered in the Midwest.

In North Dakota, for example, evidence of the native woman's connection to the state and the region has been psychologically satisfying. In addition, a variety of materials portraying Sacagawea's story and her purported likeness has also proven to be economically important. When I returned to Bismarck in 1989, I

visited the capitol grounds to tour the North Dakota Heritage Center, a sleek, modern building that has been erected in place of the old brick museum. Indicating a different approach to history, the title of the new facility points to interconnections with past populations rather than presenting displays of interesting, but obsolete, artifacts.

The Heritage Center also offers another benefit not provided in the previous museum, a gift shop. When I entered the store, I was surrounded by items bearing Sacagawea's name, as well as her supposed image. Such pictures, paintings, books, postcards, and note cards impart her importance to the state, the region, and the nation. According to the Heritage Center gift shop manager Gloria Engle, these are their best-selling articles. An unnamed representative of Saks News, the company distributing a postcard of a famous Sacagawea statue, writes that this item has sold well for more than twenty years. As he/she asserts, Saks has wholesaled about two thousand cards per year over that period. Gift shop manager Engle adds that this card is particularly popular with school children, probably because it is the most inexpensive item in the store that depicts the legendary heroine.

Another article in the shop offers a different image of the same monument. Every year, store personnel sell nearly two hundred boxes of note cards that feature a pen and ink drawing of the statue. Hometown Prints representative, Eileen Linzmeyer writes that the Heritage Center gift shop began purchasing these note cards in 1981. Since that time, the store has ordered and sold nearly two thousand

boxes. Customers of this store alone have circulated close to thirty thousand cards bearing the image of this national cultural heroine. While visitors from within the state undoubtedly purchase Sacagawea memorabilia, Engel states that tourists from other states and countries buy them most often. Such sales are not simply a result of Sacagawea's renown, however, since they have also assured that her name remains prominent in the area and around the country and world. As Sacagawea's fame is circulated by articles and pictures that pervade the culture, they subsequently beget further demand. Pictures of and stories about Sacagawea have thus provided retailers and wholesalers, at least in certain regions, with revenues because she has been hailed an American heroine.

Images of Sacagawea have also been useful in attracting tourists to the Upper Midwest. Although Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, George Armstrong Custer, and Teddy Roosevelt have also been extolled as legendary heroes of the state, the native woman reigns in North Dakota. "Sakakawea" is mentioned, for instance, more than any other person in Discover the Spirit!, a vacation guide to the state. In his welcoming letter to potential visitors, Governor Sinner refers to Sacagawea's character and actions in an effort to draw people to her "home." Reiterating these same ideas, copy writers of the brochure promise that tourists coming to North Dakota can see Sacagawea's world and embark on exciting adventures similar to hers. As such anecdotal evidence confirms, Sacagawea has proven to be economically significant, as well as emotionally compelling, in areas

boasting an historical connection to her.

Sacagawea's importance has not been limited to retail businesses and tourism industries, however. Long before the North Dakota Heritage Center opened and indeed continuing to the present, historians have written hundreds of pages of analyses about her. In articles and books, scholars have dissected every conceivable aspect of her historical existence. Commentators have not fully examined, nonetheless, how Sacagawea initially came to be so celebrated by Americans, in both popular and scholarly arenas. Neither have they investigated why her story, unlike others which have eventually faded or died, has endured in the society that first endowed it with such importance. No one has explored, in any detail, the causes and consequences of the Sacagawea legend, a narrative that has informed American culture from the progressive era to the present. As David Remley asserts in "Sacajawea of Myth and History," a causal examination of her prominence in Western American history, along with an investigation of why artists have found her a tempting a figure for portrayal, has long been overdue.

My intent in this project is to scrutinize these very issues. In an examination of representative texts depicting Sacagawea and her story from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present, I argue that Sacagawea became a legendary figure because she has exemplified critical elements America's foundation myths. Not simply a single, traditional story, myth constitutes a pattern of meaningful cultural expressions. A complex of narratives recounting America's

true beginnings, myths relate a society's sacred history. Clusters of traditional stories, for instance, have delineated the most significant of these mythic patterns, America's frontier experiences. Embodying such emotions and principles, which eventually came to be termed "manifest destiny," the 1804-6 Lewis and Clark Expedition has long vivified American frontier traditions. Because a wide variety of texts have depicted Sacagawea as the Indian princess[3] associated with that exploration and because they have most often proclaimed her the key to its success, she has become an important emblem of manifest destiny. Since this cultural charter continues to inform significant populations, so too has Sacagawea's name and tale sustained a high level of recognition and notoriety in America.

Another factor, in partnership with myth, also accounts for the enduring nature of Sacagawea's renown. Flexible within its mythic framework, her narrative has enabled those who retell it to confront diverse, and often shifting, issues that have received critical attention in America. Fulfilling an assortment of personal, regional, and/or national agendas, artists have addressed such questions as suffrage for women, social taboos against miscegenation, and modern feminism. Sacagawea's story, therefore, has simultaneously illustrated and reinforced abiding national myths while it has also allowed a populace to test and comment on critical, timely concepts as they have unfolded within a dynamic and diverse culture.

This investigation of the Sacagawea legend, a case study of the formation of and changes in certain facets of the nation's culture, entails an examination of

American myths, literature, history, and their interpenetrations. Guiding the project, as William Doty exhorts in his work Mythography: The Study of Myths and Rituals, is the belief that a multi-layered, multi-functional approach to mythic interpretation results in far richer knowledge and understanding than any single tool of analysis could ever produce. New Historicism, as well as sociocultural and psychological myth criticisms are methodologies I employ to engage and comprehend Sacagawea texts.

New Historicism is a relatively new means of investigating a wide array of cultural texts. In the first half of the twentieth century, most American literary critics concentrated primarily on issues of aesthetics and canon-formation. Others, including New Historicists, have chiseled out diverse methods of interpretation, especially in the past three decades. Seeking to decenter the study of literature, New Historicists contend that all literatures are essentially referential, intersecting with history, sociology, and anthropology. As they shift the terms under discussion, as well as the questions asked and meanings garnered, such critics do not strive to demonstrate that classic American works are worthy of study because they transcended their culture or because they asserted a democratic consensus. New Historicists[4] instead have examined purportedly "classical" works and other texts through a new lens.

As these critics assert, all cultural productions are caught in a web of historical conditions, relationships, and influences, subsequently illustrating a

creator's relationship to ideologies that inform historical and political realities of his/her milieu. Individuals do not simply adopt a coherent body of ideas, beliefs, and attitudes imposed on them by society, however, writes Catherine Bell Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice. Rather, through struggle, negotiation, qualification, and accommodation, they constantly and actively engage in constructing and reconstructing cultural realities. As this process implies, unfolding ideologies shape and are shaped by people living within particular historical contexts.

Not simply assuming the ideological nature of all works, New Historicists have focused on it as a primary point of analysis. In "The Problem of Ideology in American Literary History," Sacvan Berkovitch repudiates the type of appraisal Robert Clark conducts in History, Ideology and Myth in American Fiction. Discounting the importance of certain texts because their producers supposedly attempted to conceal or invert cultural realities, Clark believes that such works must be separated from true histories and great fictions because of their overtly ideological nature. Berkovitch asserts, on the other hand, that ideology is not a falsely contrived belief system that creators can somehow escape. Existing in all societies, mediating between history and literature, ideology acts as a superstructure from which people think and act. For critics like Berkovitch, penetrating ideological meanings is one method of understanding more about the works themselves in addition to the cultures from which they have been produced. The critic's job, according to New Historicists, is to uncover these influences and to make

sociohistorical issues and meanings central to the understanding of all texts.

In conjunction with their interest in ideology, New Historicists have argued for an expansion of the American canon. As Jane Tompkins contends in Sensational Designs, texts previously considered unworthy of interpretation, because they supposedly lacked aesthetic value, are now seen as important sources of cultural information. In criticisms of Uncle Tom's Cabin and The Last of the Mohicans, for example, Tompkins has demonstrated the benefits of re-viewing popular works through the lens of historical and ideological questioning. By employing this methodology, researchers observe a number of phenomena, including individual production within a social context as well as audience response to images that reflect, reinforce, or attempt to subvert common traditions. Such projects additionally provide a unique point for cultural observation as they reveal how ideologies arise, propagate, change, and perhaps lose potency over time.

Because of its ideological emphasis, in addition to its acknowledgment of the value of popular texts in the discovery of significant cultural meanings, New Historicism serves as one of the methodological prongs in this study. Such concepts are essential in the interpretation of texts that have established and disseminated the legend of Sacagawea. When examined through New Historical questioning, comments like those of G.S. Snyder become suspect. In "Westways Women: The Girl of History Who Became a Woman of Fable," Snyder argues that scholars can discover "truths" about Sacagawea by reading original expedition

journals. Everything is made clear in these diaries, contends Snyder. By accepting their authorship as non-ideological, Snyder depicts Meriwether Lewis and William Clark as disinterested recorders of facts. Unswayed by personal beliefs or emotion, they supposedly present the entire story without lapses, omissions, or breaks. If all works are historical artifacts born of an individual's necessary relation to cultural ideologies, however, then the expedition journals are fruitful sources for the discovery of different meanings. These materials, upon which others have constructed the legend of Sacagawea, in fact point to significant ideological underpinnings in American society.

In addition to providing reinterpretations of these germinal scripts, New Historicism informs the analysis of major Sacagawea texts produced since 1900. Primarily composed for popular consumption, early twentieth-century works like Eva Emery Dye's novel The Conquest and Leonard Crunelle's statue Bird Woman indicate that ideologies inspiring continental exploration have persisted in America. Texts featuring Sacagawea in subsequent decades illustrate this principle as well. Nearly all confirm the ease with which Sacagawea's story has been woven into America's orthodox narrative.

Despite insights that New Historicism offers this project, this methodology alone does not suffice in the analysis of works embracing the Sacagawea narrative. As Clifford Geertz claims in "Ideology As a Cultural System," ideological study implies certain weaknesses. Since ideologies spring from two basic causes, the

pursuit of power or the amelioration of sociopsychological anxieties caused by cultural dislocations or frictions, Geertz proclaims that ideological projects are inherently flawed because they privilege an investigation of cause over consequence. One possible way of overcoming this problem and producing a more comprehensive study is to combine ideological interpretation with myth criticism. Although texts emerge from a particular perspective, they constitute both personal and cultural responses to and assessments of situations, people, and ideas. Reverberating profoundly within a society because of the nature of their formation and function, mythic works prove particularly valuable in discovering cultural needs and goals. Because they can sustain an examination of the consequences of their production, such texts point to the effects of ideological thinking as well as its causes.

Myth and ideology are inherently interconnected, according to Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's pioneering work The Social Construction of Reality. In their investigation of how cultural knowledge is first established, these scholars argue that intersubjective meanings or "realities" are socially constructed. While individuals initially share typificatory schema, humanly-produced meanings are subsequently experienced as external and coercive fact as they undergo a process of objectivation, sedimentation, and socialization. As Berger and Luckmann further assert, sign systems, especially linguistics, disguise the human authorship of knowledge and serve as the most important depositories of cultural realities.

Agreeing that language influences perception and produces social reality, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson argue in Metaphors We Live By that ordinary conceptual systems are essentially metaphorical. Fundamental to cognitive processes, deep metaphors inevitably reveal themselves through linguistics. Since such comparisons are grounded in common physical and cultural experience, linkages of lesser-known or -comprehended concepts to better-known ideas are culturally mediated. As Lakoff and Johnson assert, a society influences its population's cognitive processes and thus its language systems by condoning the establishment of two points of correspondence, by expanding or limiting their number of shared entailments, and by highlighting some aspects of the relationship while hiding others.

Cultures employ the pervasive and persuasive power of linguistic systems to legitimate social institutions, according to Berger and Luckmann. Ranging in sophistication from rudimentary vocabularies to complex theoretical propositions and theories, each institutional level illustrates, explains, and justifies socially constructed realities. Berger and Luckmann refer to the most complex level of legitimation as symbolic universes. Also termed general mythology, these structures are the most comprehensive bodies of a culture's theoretical tradition. Integrating meaning and institution into symbolic totality through its mythology, a society thus supplies a cohesive and meaningful world to its citizens.

Although ideology and myth are different in some ways, they are also

inherently connected, according to Henry Nash Smith and Richard Slotkin, in "Symbol and Idea in Virgin Land" and "Myth and the Production of History," respectively. Tying elements of Berger and Luckmann's arguments to Lakoff and Johnson's premises, these critics claim that myths and ideologies, collective representations of cultural unconsciousness, are born of and transmitted through linguistic systems. While ideology constitutes abstractions of cultural beliefs, myths illustrate such assumptions. Unlike the rhetorical propositions of ideology, mythic narratives are structural metaphors containing essential elements of a culture's world view. As Berkovitch concludes in the "Afterword" of Ideology and Classic American Literature, history, ideology, and myth reflect, enable, and shape one another.

These critics concur, therefore, that myths are not divorced from the social conditions from which they emerge. Rather, such narratives are intrinsically tied to cultural realities, acutely addressing and often reinforcing them. Because of the interrelationship between myth and ideology, myth criticism is a natural methodological partner of New Historicism in certain projects. Since the Sacagawea legend emerged as a result of its association with America's founding myths, this study benefits from such a partnership.

Psychological analysis provides one means of interpreting mythic texts, according to William Doty in Mythography and Martin S. Day in The Many Meanings of Myth. Focusing on a myth's point of origin as it emanates from

individuals who are motivated by various fears, needs, and desires, psychological myth critics trace the outward radiation of a culture's sacred narratives. Scholars employing this method argue that only when a myth has psychological significance for the individual can it develop a shared relevance for a general population. For the psychological critic, myth burgeons as individual experience is codified into meaningful patterns. These common responses are then accepted as significant within the culture.

Employing a different approach to myth criticism, other researchers attend to the collective aspects of traditional narratives. As sociofunctional critics explore the work accomplished by myth, they contend that such texts serve as cultural "cement" or "charters" to solidify common understandings of social "realities." Inherent incongruities emerge in any cultural system and threaten the "truth" status of constructed knowledge. In an effort to rationalize established knowledge, myths may subsequently overcome potential social chaos by explaining away discrepancies and justifying past meanings. Since myths function to maintain cultural equilibrium, sociofunctionalists contend that myth studies reveal significant information about dynamic social systems and changing cultural "realities."

Sociofunctionalists have been criticized for concentrating too heavily on the collective aspects of myth without accounting for individual creation within a culture. This same argument, though in reverse, has been directed toward psychological myth critics. Mythic works, however, codify both individual

consciousness and collective perception. Addressing large concerns and conflicts that engage a culture, myths also demonstrate personal struggles within that construct. If people are capable of deliberative thought and individual creation, in the midst of and in response to socially-constructed realities, comprehensive myth criticism should tackle both realms.

Ideological, psychological, and sociofunctional methodologies thus provide the means to evaluate individual production, to explore personal and cultural factors helping to spawn such responses, and without privileging one area over the other, to negotiate the space between the two. As I employ all three strategies in this study of the Sacagawea legend, I extend a concurrent analysis of text and context. While possibly appearing to manifest only a narrow knowledge and meaning, this project nonetheless points to broader cultural issues. An examination of the Sacagawea legend and its intersections with three critical contexts reveals a multi-faceted picture of American culture from 1804 to the present.

One contextual investigation entails a review of ideas and images reflecting elements of America's foundation myths. Documenting these patterns of conceptualization, countless American texts have continuously raised the same questions and offered relatively static answers to certain social realities. Works that have embraced the story of the native woman accompanying the Corps of Discovery confirm their lasting connection to these abiding concepts and demonstrate the story's mythic core. In addition, as indicated by the number American creators that

have adopted that tale and the positive reception their works have received from American populations, this study subsequently verifies the functional vitality of frontier traditions.

Overlaid on these persistent conceptions, a second context also bears investigation. As various questions surface within a dynamic culture, artists have exposed and tested timely issues, subjecting them to cultural discussion and examining them for possible resolution. Again, myriad American texts reveal these cultural pressure points, providing insights into ideological and historical movements in the nation. Works embracing the Sacagawea story divulge their affinities with such timely concepts, as evidenced in notable changes in the narratives from one era to another. These modifications invariably correspond to shifts in American values and concerns, thereby demonstrating the flexibility of the legend and perhaps accounting in part for its continued usefulness in popular production.

A third contextual inquiry locates connections between the personal and the cultural, illustrating how a convergence can result in particular textual production. Close reading of The Conquest, for example, confirms that Eva Emery Dye's geographical and historical lifetime intersected with ideas surrounding American myth and with critical issues facing the nation at the turn of the century. Further evidence indicates that while it sprang from a nexus of factors, the novel in turn influenced those very elements serving in its creation. Each major Sacagawea

work, in fact, exhibits this interplay of context and text. Produced as a result of ideas circulating within a society, such works attempt to perpetuate, refute, and/or revise those very assumptions. This analysis, therefore, documents individual as well as collective responses to cultural values and meanings.

A fundamental premise of this project hinges on the existence of American foundation, or cosmogonic myths. In Myth and Reality, Mircea Eliade would appear to deny this possibility because of his emphasis on supernatural beings who materialize and act in the world during transcendent times. Since Eliade delineates a strict dichotomy between mythic and historical thought, this concept would also seem to preclude the emergence of traditional narratives in American society. As Lauri Honko and G.S. Kirk nonetheless assert in "The Problem of Defining Myth" and "On Defining Myths," respectively, pinpointing the precise attributes of myth is a singularly difficult task. Both critics emphasize the need for flexible criteria. In other passages of Myth and Reality, Eliade moreover concedes that cosmogonic myths may include more recent stories of territorial settlements. He additionally states in "Cosmogonic Myth and 'Sacred History'" that mythic and historical thinking cannot be completely separated.

Other scholars also palliate some of Eliade's seemingly fixed notions. While Doty and Berger and Luckmann employ phrases like "suprahuman entities" or "sacred forces" in their definitions of myth, they do not insist on personal godly appearances. Doty furthermore stresses in Mythography that mythic thinking is not

primitive, nor is it ahistorical. As Doty writes, myths constitute a complex of narratives telling a sacred history of primary, foundational events. Such sacred traditions relate a time when a true and crucial reality came into existence. Accomplished through the interventions of sacred entities, these creative feats present people with models of and for beliefs and behaviors in a society.

American culture has generated just such narratives of the nation's true beginnings. As Doty asserts in "Silent Myths Singing in the Blood," although most Americans see themselves and their society as non-mythic, images and stories of myth have been, and continue to be, as important in America as they have been in any other culture. Critics from a variety of disciplines have in fact provided textual evidence from sermons, novels, histories, paintings, statuary, and other cultural artifacts of the existence of America's most compelling myths. While allowing for creative variations and permitting modifications[5] resulting from cultural change, the essential core of the nation's most important mythic patterns has remained unmistakable for more than two centuries. America dawned, according to these accounts, when European settlers secured areas of the continent with the help of a beneficent God. This act inspired belief in the mission to carve out a consecrated space for the erection of a new social order. Incorporating images of the land and native peoples, this compilation of stories constitutes America's cosmogonic narratives.

Although some critics[6] associate the phrase "manifest destiny" almost

exclusively with expansionist attitudes of the mid 1840s, Albert K. Weinberg defines the concept differently in Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History.[7] As Weinberg argues, manifest destiny signifies one of the most enduring and profound facets of America's history of ideas. Assorted cultural issues coalesced into a wide array of complementary doctrines and narratives which reflected and indeed crystallized America's foundation myths. Eventually known as manifest destiny, frontier narratives assert Euro-American prerogatives to territorial security, their geographical predestination to occupy the continent's "natural boundaries," their just claim to the soil based on their perceptions of aboriginal economies, and their ordained mission to extend the area of freedom. Weinberg accedes that these notions have formed a body of narrative justifications and rationalizations supporting American territorial expansion. He nonetheless argues that they emerged not simply from self-interested hypocrisy, but derived from unconscious need and flourished because of their power to explain the world. Employing psychological and sociofunctional concepts, Weinberg essentially outlines America's most significant mythic patterns.

In Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny, Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback document events that produced traditional frontier myths. They assert that narratives of manifest destiny developed as Puritans experienced cultural dislocations during their encounters with unfamiliar, and therefore threatening, indigenous social systems. In American Indian Responses and Reactions to the

Colonists as Recorded in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century American Literature, Lucille Van Keuren agrees that cultural clashes produced Euro-American consensus concerning native populations. Springing from these circumstances and spawning a profusion of narratives, frontier traditions defined and justified the colonial enterprise. They also provided a model for subsequent attitudes and actions as Euro-American settlement proceeded west across the continent.

As reflected in these mythic narratives, a unique characteristic profoundly influenced American culture. According to Segal and Stineback and Richard Slotkin in Regeneration Through Violence, each successive American "wilderness," located just west of pioneer settlements, required transformation into consecrated territory. America's primal moment therefore recurred until the end of the "frontier period" in the late 1880s as trailblazers repeatedly enacted sacred stories of origin for more than two centuries. Cultural texts depicting these moments continuously revitalized America's cosmogonic myths, reinforcing principles that initially engendered those traditions. Frederick Jackson Turner, a prominent twentieth-century American historian, sums up the importance of successive wildernesses in his controversial thesis, The Significance of the Frontier in American History. As Turner argues and Ray Allen Billington contends in Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier, the American frontier constituted a process rather than a place. The most important factor in the New World, the frontier precipitated the development of uniquely American attitudes,

identities, and institutions.

Although Turner and Billington claim that individualism, democracy, and nationalism spread as the "free land" receded, in The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West, Patricia Limerick focuses on other implications stemming from America's territorial expansion. Frontier myths, which embrace and illustrate concepts of manifest destiny, not only shaped attitudes and actions in the past, but they have continued to inform present problems in America. As Limerick argues, a key doctrine of such traditions implies an unshakable confidence in Euro-American rights to the land. Another is the persistence of certain imagery in portrayals of America's aboriginal populations. Successive frontiers therefore invigorated activity on the continent. They have also assisted in maintaining the functional vitality of America's foundation myths, just as myths proliferated cultural ideologies through diverse narratives. A plethora of narratives embracing frontier myths, in spite of obvious internal contradictions and paradoxes, have illustrated, proliferated, and justified concepts of the land and native peoples for centuries.

Many literary critics have interpreted American mythic texts. In his germinal study Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth, Henry Nash Smith traces mythic imagery associated with the West in American texts ranging from travel brochures to popular novels. Smith asserts that such works illustrate collective attitudes about the continent. Successively comprehending the West as a

potential pathway to the riches of the Far East, an untamed wilderness or desert requiring civilization's penetration and control, and a garden allowing the agrarian dream to flourish, American texts have defined the wilderness. They have, in addition, consistently embraced one cultural absolute, Euro-American primacy on the continent. In his recent reassessment "Symbol and Idea in Virgin Land," Smith, cognizant of his own immersion in cultural ideologies, reemphasizes the potency of these common traditions.

Although Smith argues that concepts of the land stimulates American myths, Leslie Fiedler insists that encounters with alien landscapes produced no intrinsically different narratives from those created in other cultures. As he argues in The Return of the Vanishing American, uniquely American narratives resulted from Euro-American confrontation with indigenous populations. Concurring with other critics, Fiedler furthermore suggests that the constant recession of the "wilderness," as settlers moved westward across the continent and repeatedly experienced clashes with natives, fortified myths of manifest destiny.

Roy Harvey Pearce also concentrates on the impact of Euro-American interactions with native peoples in Savagism and Civilization. Examining political pamphlets, missionary reports, literary texts, and anthropological observations produced in America between the early seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, Pearce contends that these writings promulgated ideas about indigenous groups through the use of repeated symbols. Such significations achieved a cultural

consensus as creators employed a narrow band of persistent, socially-condoned images. Collective ideas, born of symbols and imagery alike, have thus consistently designated America's original inhabitants as "savage" while contrasting images have identified Euro-American settlers as "civilized." America, according to the visions of such works, consists of a civilized continent, secured by pioneers who rescue it from profane contamination. They additionally protect it, through constant vigilance, from further violation, infringement, or encroachments by savages. This dichotomy of savagism and civilization has constituted one of the most important elements of America's cosmogonic myths.

Analyzing American conceptions of both the land and natives, thus considering many aspects of Fiedler's, Smith's, and Pearce's arguments in Regeneration through Violence, Richard Slotkin examines American literary texts published from 1620 to the 1850s. America's cosmogonic myth, argues Slotkin, dawned only when distinctive interactions of individuals and cultures resulted in particular events in a unique place. This nexus subsequently produced collectively-held ideas of the world and the "other" in narratives created by various groups encountering one another on the American continent. Although he briefly discusses native societies, Slotkin primarily focuses on myths emerging in colonial culture. In agreement with Segal and Stineback, Slotkin claims that as Euro-Americans encountered differing systems, they labelled natives "savage." They also defined land outside the settlements as "wilderness."

Historical and literary critics therefore point to the existence of American myth. Comprised of narratives that reveal fundamental, foundational ideas and emotions, such narrative traditions have delineated sacred purposes for the culture and provided models for roles and behaviors of its population. Two concepts, the necessity of expanding the area of civilization across the continent and the requirement of assimilating or eliminating native cultures because of their inherent savagery, have constituted the most important elements of these mythic patterns. Possessing the status of "reality," such concepts have informed beliefs and actions in America.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-1806 explicitly illustrated, in philosophy as well as action, America's foundation myths. Also known as the Corps of Discovery, the exploration signified civilization's rightful penetration into a savage wilderness. As historian Bernard DeVoto argues in The Course of Empire, the expedition was no mere fact-finding mission. Thomas Jefferson, who had long planned the journey, outlined its manifold purposes: discovering the North West Passage, surveying uncharted areas, asserting American authority over the huge expanse of the Louisiana Purchase, and strengthening the U.S. claim to Columbia.

DeVoto further claims that aspirations to expand America to the edge of the continent constituted only part of the expedition's purpose. Another objective was to institute trade with indigenous tribes and nations while simultaneously asserting

American sovereignty over them. Functioning as ambassadors of America's "Great Father," Lewis and Clark viewed themselves as offering the benefits of an "advanced" culture to native peoples. The spirit and actuality of exploration not only embraced American notions of the land; it also illustrated long-standing actions and beliefs concerning aboriginal populations. Associated with dominant ideologies of continental expansion and assimilation or removal of its inhabitants, the trek has embodied American frontier myths.

Acknowledging the mythic import of the expedition, many critics have designated the endeavor as "America's national epic."[8] Helen West argues, for instance, that the expedition continues to capture the imaginations of generations because it symbolizes uniquely American qualities of strength, courage, and justice. Demonstrating this saga's grasp on an American populace in each decade since the return of the Corps, amateur and professional researchers have generated thousands of pages of data, drawings, maps, statues, paintings, and photographs featuring the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Corps of Discovery has additionally exemplified another aspect of frontier traditions. As Annette Kolodny asserts in The Lay of the Land, American mythic texts reveal that male perceptions of a female continent have emerged from two conflicting psychological desires. Whereas many southern works reflect passive male response to absolute sensory gratification of the land as mother nurturer, other texts illustrate men's active attempts at penetration and mastery.

Describing the "superb masculinity" of the West, in The Vanishing White Man, Stan Steiner argues that American texts and culture have romanticized the national conquest of the land. The Lewis and Clark Expedition symbolizes that romance.

An illustration demonstrates that the mythic appeal of Lewis and Clark's endeavor endures, for at least some American males. At a recent dean's council luncheon at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, the provost asked how my research was progressing. As I began to reply, one of the deans enthusiastically proclaimed he had walked and/or driven segments of the Lewis and Clark Trail. He also said that he had made a pilgrimage to Sacagawea's grave.[9] Three other males in attendance soon joined in the conversation, recounting their own involvement and even identification with the captains who "opened up" America. All of them had traced parts of the original journey, either through actual exploration or reading. Illustrating what Helen West calls the "irresistible" allure of the expedition journals, the provost then recounted how he had been captivated by these narratives, as a boy and again as a man.

Many researchers, nearly all men, have travelled large portions of the trail. Some have tackled the entire journey before submitting their own assessments of and contributions to the story of the expedition. These include Gerald Snyder's In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark, Howard Zahniser's "Toward the West," and Calvin Tompkins' The Lewis and Clark Trail. Clearly, the Lewis and Clark Expedition continues to resonate in American culture as it evokes a positive

impression of masculine action on the continent. Perhaps most closely allied to concepts of the journey's mythic meanings, these men and others have engaged in ritual reenactments of gallant penetration into an unknown wilderness. Their actions and words subsequently guarantee the expedition's visibility and believability, as they extol its relevance to an American populace.

Sacagawea has become an important part of American frontier traditions because she was a participant in the "epic" penetration of the wilderness. While some critics might argue that the Sacagawea texts themselves constitute myth, most distinguish between myth and legend. As William Bascom writes in "The Forms of Folklore," myths and legends are true and vital narratives of a culture. Generally, however, the former are defined as sacred tales of a remote past while the latter feature cultural heroes operating in a more recent period. Although Martin S. Day notes in The Many Meanings of Myth that differentiations between the two categories are subject to exceptions and that definitional slippages are common, he and Bascom indicate that these distinctions are widely accepted.

Narratives portraying Sacagawea, a woman whose life and activities intersected with the relatively recent and most consequential continental expedition in the nation's history, has become an American cultural heroine. Furthermore, because hundreds of texts have not only connected her to this endeavor but also declared her its "savior," she has illustrated and validated critical facets of myths of manifest destiny. As James P. Ronda writes in his ethnohistorical account, Lewis and Clark

among the Indians, Sacagawea's story does not, as some would contend, encompass native issues and concerns. Instead, because she is most often featured as the sole native actively and willingly participating in the Corps of Discovery, Sacagawea has come to signify "Indian" compliance with the mission to carve a sacred space out of the wilderness. Addressing the needs and interests of Euro-Americans, texts embracing her story have initiated and propagated the Sacagawea legend while they simultaneously sustained cultural notions about the land and about America's indigenous peoples.

Early analyses of Euro-American literary portrayals of native peoples, such as Jeanette Henry's The American Indian Reader and Philip Butcher's The Minority Presence in American Literature, 1600-1900, have spawned hundreds of articles and books. Meticulously examining nearly four centuries of characterizations, these texts argue that Euro-Americans have consistently stereotyped individual natives as well as tribal groups in all media and genres. Tim Shaughnessy, in "White Stereotypes of Indians," declares that "Indian" stereotyping has provided the nation with a shared set of over simplified and undifferentiated notions upon which many people have based their attitudes and actions. While such images may contain certain elements of truth, ethnic stereotyping invariably focuses on undesirable traits and thus justifies prejudices or discriminatory behaviors. Melding limited images with corresponding negative assessments, the term "Indian" continues to function as an intellectual classification in American culture, writes Robert F. Berkhofer in The

White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.

Although these studies describe and trace specific imagery associated with native peoples, most also examine the cultural causes of such stereotyping. As Van Keuren argues, in the first few decades of the colonies, Euro-American diaries, letters, and other personal writings described natives who displayed a wide variety of behaviors and attributes. Only certain traits, nonetheless, resonated in the dominant culture, quickly becoming culturally-approved Indian qualities. Several critics[10] acknowledge the primary cause for continued stereotyping of Indians. As they argue, fixed patterns of portrayal have been one of the most important methods for illustrating and justifying tenets of manifest destiny throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and in the twentieth centuries.

Lacking their own authorship as well as possessing little political power, natives have been unable to counter such images. As Kathleen Houts and Rosemary S. Bahr write in "Stereotyping of Indians and Blacks in Magazine Cartoons," depictions of African-Americans have changed over the last forty years. These alterations resulted from increased power exerted by African-Americans and/or their supporters after the civil rights movement gained momentum and acceptance in the mid 1960s. Corresponding revisions of "Indian" portrayals have not occurred. Indigenous peoples of the United States, claim Houts and Bahr, have never obtained a political base vital enough to exact such modifications. Euro-Americans, therefore, have consistently defined indigenous peoples by collapsing

tribal and individual distinctions and by delimiting them through a narrow band of unchanging traits and behaviors. As American texts have presented undifferentiated beings, stereotypes of natives invariably bear messages of the innate savagery and racial inferiority of America's natives.

Indian stereotypes were at first summarized and standardized in sermons, histories, and captivity narratives, according David Beer's "Anti-Indian Sentiment in Early Colonial Literature." Publishing stories of their captivity after redemption back into "civilization," colonial men and women initiated and propagated ethnocentric observations of native life. Such works as Mary Rowlandson's A True Story of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, A Minister's Wife in New England: Wherein is Set Forth, The Cruel and Inhumane Usage she underwent amongst the Heathens, for Eleven Weeks time: And her Deliverance from them, published in 1632, and John Gyles's Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, Etc., in the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq., Commander of the Garrison on St. George River, in the District of Maine, published in 1689, defined the Indian for the colonial audience. Eventually evolving into immutable types, these patterns were disseminated throughout the Euro-American culture. As some critics[11] argue, paintings, statues, and novels carried the central message. In addition, John C. Ewers claims in "The Static Images," that important contributions to the refinement and solidification of the Indian stereotype occurred during the nineteenth century, as travelers, ethnographers, novelists, and painters, such as

George Catlin and Karl Bodmer, popularized cultural perceptions of the fierce and unequivocally barbaric Plains tribes.

Early texts have not constituted the sole bearers of Indian stereotypes to the American population, nonetheless. Reinforcing ideas established in print, in marble, and on canvas, movies and television have also presented stereotypical Indians.[12] As Ralph and Natasha Friar claim in The Only Good Indian . . . The Hollywood Gospel, American films have conflated the complexity of native existence into simplified patterns in order to explain the rectitude of the "civilizing" mission on the continent. Some critics, like John A. Price in "The Stereotyping of North American Indians in Motion Pictures," believe that within the last twenty-five years film makers have begun to break down traditional stereotyping by producing pro-Indian films. Gretchen Bataille and Charles Silet in The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies, as well as Hedy Hartman in "A Brief Review of the Native American in American Cinema," disagree. While they concur that recent films have incorporated certain changes in portrayals of Indians, they proclaim that even the best examples are still steeped in popular stereotypes. Presenting a list of complaints the American Indian Movement (AIM) has leveled against apparently pro-Indian movies, Hartman states that they demonstrate the continuation of old stereotypes.

Other scholars have examined thousands of textbooks, searching for images of Indians.[13] Reaching a consensus, these critics state that only occasionally has

any textbook presented an accurate picture of individual natives or their tribal existence of the past or present. Even recently published textbooks offer familiar Indian stereotypes, resulting in trivialized and distorted characterizations. No other group, argue Ralph and Natasha Friar, has been made to assume such a narrow and permanent fictional identity since each medium presents examples of each new generation's re-invention of the Indian.

Douglas Leechman claims in "The Indian in Literature" that Indian stereotypes have undergone eight transformations. Rayna Green outlines three distinct types in The Only Good Indian: The Image of the Indian In American Vernacular Culture. Most researchers nonetheless isolate two general patterns.[14] They argue that Indians have been delineated as either noble or ignoble savages by the dominant culture. Although these images appear to assert contrasting conceptions, both relentlessly outline an inferior species. Each has proven useful to the dominant ideology in its own way.

Cruelty, barbarity, and treachery characterize the very bad Indian, generally known as the ignoble or howling savage. Such portrayals first arose from sensational accounts of Euro-American captivities by tribal groups. These negative portraits were supplemented and amplified by written narratives of early confrontations between natives and European settlers, such as those produced during the King Philip's and Pequot wars. Transported to later frontiers, images of the devil's minion and fiendish torturers persisted. As Louise Barnett documents in

"Nineteenth-Century Indian Hater Fiction: A Paradigm for Racism," these works have served the dominant culture well. Reinforcing myths of manifest destiny, they have documented the inherent savagery of America's indigenous populations regardless of tribe or nation. Stories of captivity and war have justified the extermination of America's indigenous peoples, notwithstanding proof of any individual's or group's actual participation in "atrocities."

Not all texts have portrayed natives as ignoble savages; other delineate very good Indians. In Europe and America during the Romantic Period, according to Anna Lee Stensland in "The Indian Presence in American Literature," noble savages have been characterized as virtuous, albeit primitive, children of the forest. They are essentially an extension of untamed nature and exude qualities of self-sacrifice and trustworthiness. While some critics have identified the ignoble savage as the most damaging Indian stereotype, Green, Brenzo, Paula Gunn Allen in The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Tradition, and many others agree that the noble savage constitutes as negative a stereotype as that of the howling savage. Although docile behaviors have not mandated their extermination, very good Indians obstruct the progress of civilization across the continent. American texts have permitted only two alternatives for the noble savage, to assimilate into the dominant culture or to vanish. In either case, these images explain frontier myths while traditional narratives simultaneously justify such portraits.

Most of the previously-mentioned studies concerned with Indian stereotypes have focused on Indian men. Native women, however, have by no means escaped narrow and fixed portrayals, write Gretchen M. Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands in American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives and Rayna Green in "Review Essay: Native American Women." They assert that images of Indian women have also been cliched, trivialized, and sentimentalized. As Karen Elliott argues in The Portrayal of the American Indian Woman in a Select Group of American Novels, non-native novelists, like James Fenimore Cooper, Helen Hunt Jackson, and Oliver Lafarge, have always filtered their characterizations of native women through Euro-American perceptions and cultural expectations.

Patterns defining Indian women have melded two traditions of mythic imagery, those qualities typifying women in general and those traits associated with savagery, both noble and ignoble. As Simone de Beauvoir claims in The Second Sex and Mary Anne Ferguson argues in Images of Women in Literature, most if not all cultures have outlined similar conceptions of woman as "other" because of supposedly innate sexual characteristics. Women, in effect, have constituted a mysterious departure from the norm of maleness. The result of such categorization has been the production of several narrowly defined and illustrated stereotypes defining women, including the wife, the mother, the siren, and the witch. In another analysis of female "otherness," Sherry Ortner contends in "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" that women have been viewed as more closely allied

with nature. Although one might assume the association would result in positive evaluations, Ortner argues that nature, in this context, signifies ambiguous forces working outside the understandable and controlled male world of culture.

If certain fixed patterns have defined women as "other" based on both vague and specific notions and images, then stereotypes describing native women assign them to an even more marginalized position. Characteristics of the "natural" and "other" woman combine with those of "savagery," creating a composite stereotype. Doubly removed, Indian women become the "other others." They are beings truly aligned with incomprehensible, savage nature and hold no legitimate place in a civilized world.

Just as two distinct patterns have characterized Indian men, so too have they narrowly defined native women. Fitting into classifications of ignoble and noble savages, native women have been categorized as either squaw/drudges or Indian princesses, respectively. The squaw[15] stereotype emerged from captivity narratives, the same sources that supplied the dominant culture with concepts of the male ignoble savage. As Marla Powers argues in Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual and Reality, captivities and other Euro-American texts have represented squaws as constituting no more than slaves to their families in youth and to their husbands after marriage. As they drag and dress meat, bear children in the woods by themselves, and suffer the blows of men, these women have been portrayed, in some cases, as victims of a savage culture that could never comprehend the elevated

treatment females deserve. Conversely, other works have outlined squaw/drudges who behave as savagely as their male counterparts. Combining siren and fury imagery with ignoble savage stereotypes, these women perform a variety of illicit and gruesome activities. Not only are they capable of attempting the seduction of "civilized" men with lewd behaviors; they also wield tomahawks and knives, torturing and murdering captive men, women, and children alike.

Although American works have generally offered only glimpses of the squaw/drudge, this stereotype has nonetheless bolstered the massage of manifest destiny by supplying proof of all Indians' inherent savagery, suggests Rayna Green in "The Pocahontas Perplex." When the squaw, for example, is defined as the perpetrator of heathen viciousness, her eradication, like that of the male savage, becomes necessary to create a safe haven for "civilization." In other cases, when texts have portrayed drudges as victims of their own societies, America has simply justified its mission into the wilderness and its eradication of all native cultures by proclaiming itself the savior of a downtrodden native womanhood. Whether cast as villain or victim, the savage squaw/drudge, therefore, rightfully loses her life or her culture.

While America has never canonized the squaw, the opposite is true of the Indian princess. Although traditional native groups had no concept of royalty, and thus would never have ordained a native girl or woman "princess," American playwrights, poets, novelists, and producers have offered sustained examinations of

this truly "heroic" figure for more than two centuries. According to E. McClung Fleming in "Symbols of the Unites States: From Indian Queen to Uncle Sam," the Indian princess was the first figure to symbolize America, a place separated from the Old World influence of Britain. In such a role, the princess signified natural nobility and innocence. Asbrit Sundquist further points out in Pocahontas & Co.: The Fictional American Indian Woman in Nineteenth-Century Literature that the Indian Princess stereotype actually comprises a composite portrait, a wedding of idealized womanhood and noble savagery. Synthesizing characteristics associated with mother and sex object, as outlined by Ferguson, with qualities typifying the Virgin Mary, as described by Marina Warner in Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary, this model of the feminine ideal possesses and displays youth, beauty, grace, purity, kindness, gentleness, and self-sacrifice. Echoing and amplifying these qualities, compatible traits also define her as a noble savage. In such a role, the princess possesses primitive virtues of child-like innocence, respect, tenderness, trust, and trustworthiness.

Despite some obvious dissimilarities in portrayals of Indian men and women, the Indian princess stereotype would not appear to function differently, in the dominant culture, from that of the noble male savage. Green nonetheless claims in "The Pocahontas Perplex" that the female image is unique. American texts have related, in the Indian princess, a character who does not fit into the context of her own culture. Instead, she occupies an ambiguous position between savagery and

civilization, both physically and mentally. Her skin, for example, is whiter than most natives, but darker than whites. More importantly, when the Indian princess acts, she does so in order to aid a white man or men, out of loyalty to his/their sacred mission into wilderness.

The female noble savage, whose depiction has emerged from a mixture of racism and sexism, is defined as good when she is receptive to and fosters the invasion of the wilderness by a superior "civilization," according to William Gerdts in "The Marble Savage." While her efforts have automatically separated, if not alienated, her from her own traditions and people, she has become the heroine of the dominant culture. The Indian princess, in effect, is evaluated in a positive light only because she reflects the needs and goals of the very society that has defined her. In spite of her cultural status, however, the Indian princess can never hope for total integration into the social system she has helped to establish because she cannot escape her primitive heritage.

Indian princess images possess a pervasiveness and power in America, demonstrates Raymond Stedman in Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture. As Stedman writes, Marlon Brando attempted to tap into positive emotions surrounding the image of Indian princesses in 1973 when he sent Sacheen Littlefeather to the Oscar awards ceremony to protest America's treatment of its native populations. Attired in stereotypical "traditional" clothes of buckskin and fringes, she symbolized the primitive nobility of all Indian princesses.

Littlefeather's presence and verbal message nevertheless projected complex, contradictory meanings. Ironically, at the same instant Littlefeather verbally criticized American policies, she physically embodied America and symbolized the rectitude of its mission. Whether the traditional interpretation of this image, as reinforced by Littlefeather's physical appearance, fortified, countered, or cancelled Brando's intentions remains unknown.

In Custer Died for Your Sins, Vine Deloria, a prominent writer and attorney of Lakota heritage, also relates an anecdote highlighting the pervasiveness of Indian princess stereotyping. When Deloria was the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians in the 1960s, thousands of people visited his office each year, proudly proclaiming their Indian heritage as handed down by grandmothers. Each maternal ancestor was invariably, and miraculously, a princess of her tribe. No tourist ever mentioned his/her relationship to a native man. As Deloria argues and other critics have illustrated, this phenomenon occurs because the dominant culture has applauded its Indian princesses.

An additional factor helps to explain why Indian grandmothers are eagerly acknowledged. By maintaining at least one generational remove, anyone asserting this relationship essentially certifies his/her assimilation. In spite of her inability to escape a native birthright, the Indian princess's innate understanding of justice spurs her to help in the conquest of the wilderness. Although she has occupied a marginal space between savagery and civilization, her progeny have easily

integrated. They, in effect, offer physical proof of the virtues of manifest destiny and the synergism of American democracy. By declaring an Indian princess grandmother, therefore, American men and women have maintained their positions within the dominant culture while simultaneously avowing their connection to, and inheritance of, the nobility that helped to create it.

Extensive literary and historical research, in addition to anecdotal testimony, demonstrates that the Indian princess is one of the most significant images produced by Euro-American culture. In spite of their usefulness in reinforcing frontier myths, few Indian princesses have attained long-standing nationwide acclaim. An apparent reason for their dearth relates to Doty's discussion in "Silent Myths Singing in the Blood: The Sites of Production and Consumption of Myths in a 'Mythless' Society." As he argues, until relatively recently American society has venerated the non-mythic, has insisted on its own mythlessness, and has denied the intersection of those two classifications. In light of these concerns, American culture seems to have demanded a prerequisite of its cultural heroines, that their narratives are grounded in the semblance of historical fact. Whereas overt justifications for such stories have always arisen from history, their cultural prominence ironically springs from mythic appeal and meaning. Such a relationship belies the very myth/history dichotomy that they have seemed to verify.

Pocahontas and Sacagawea have achieved the status of American cultural heroines, both women passing the two-pronged test of historicity and mythic appeal.

Myriad literary and history researchers[16] proclaim Pocahontas as the most renown of all native women ever living in the United States. Francis Mossiker in Pocahontas: The Life and Legend carefully outlines the historical facts of Pocahontas's life. He also supplies speculative recreations of related events based on his knowledge of native and colonial cultures. The most important features of her narrative, argues Mossiker, include her royal status as the prized daughter of the chieftain Powhatan and her rescue of Captain John Smith of the Jamestown colony. In most tales, Pocahontas demonstrates her willingness to sacrifice her own life in Smith's place. Mossiker further asserts that Pocahontas's subsequent conversion to Christianity, marriage to John Rolfe, birth of a son, trip to England, and untimely death have been much less remembered, and certainly not glorified, by generations of Americans. Data gathered from the 1989 survey bear out these arguments. More than fifty percent of the nearly five hundred participants recorded Pocahontas's name, along with pertinent historical information, on the survey form. Fewer than one percent, however, mentioned details other than her royalty, her rescue of Smith, and/or their love relationship.

Numerous scholarly disputes have arisen over the historical accuracy of incidents associated with the Pocahontas story. Philip Young writes, nonetheless, in "The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered" that what actually happened makes no difference. Of importance is the way the legend captured America's imagination. Between 1700 and 1900, argues Rayna Green in Native American

Women: A Contextual Bibliography, materials focusing on Pocahontas were unequalled in popularity. Pocahontas has permeated the dominant culture as a figure in paintings and sculpture, the heroine of poetry, drama, and fiction, and the focus of biographies and essays.

Mossiker also traces the proliferation of the Pocahontas legend, asserting that important aspects of her narrative coalesced to beget the noble savage woman stereotype. Serving as the model for all subsequent noble Indian women, the legendary Pocahontas possessed physical and mental traits later standardized as the Indian princess. A young, beautiful princess, innately aware of the superiority of colonial culture, risks her life to save the only man capable of safeguarding Euro-American lives in America. By rescuing Smith, Pocahontas thus preserves the civilization she later embraces. Although Rayna Green asserts in "The Pocahontas Perplex," that Pocahontas has symbolized an integration of disparate cultures, the synthesis she describes does not entail a blending of equal parts. Rather, the Pocahontas narrative has demonstrated that a painless fusion of colonial and native worlds produces no synergistic social systems, but actually reproduces the dominant culture. Euro-American society reinforced conceptions of its own superiority. The Pocahontas legend has thus operated as a major constituent of national mythologies.

Although Mossiker claims that no native woman after Pocahontas has ever seized American culture so profoundly, Sacagawea is a premier Indian princess as well. She too possesses the requirements for becoming an American cultural

heroine based on historicity and mythic appeal. Providing the historical foundation, expedition journals document her existence and capture some of her actions. In spite of, or perhaps because of, significant omissions in these primary sources, others have subsequently built upon this infrastructure, creating a legendary character. Appearing as the sometime savior of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Sacagawea becomes the latter-day Indian princess. She is that most astute primitive who alone can realize that white settlement endows natives with blessings of contact with a more advanced civilization. Her story points out that people who might be construed as potential victims of the national enterprise actually become benefactors of its enactment.

Survey data show that ninety-five percent of participants recalling Sacagawea associated her with Lewis and Clark's mission, and seventy percent termed her the "guide" of the expedition. Additional commentary concerning her physical characteristics and personality traits solidified her classification as an Indian princess. Sacagawea was "young," "beautiful," and "loyal to the U.S.," according to forty percent of the respondents. By far the most common adjective applied to Sacagawea, however, was "helpful," a characteristic declared by sixty-five percent.[17] No respondents assigned her qualities other than those fitting the pattern of the Indian princess.

In an examination of recently published social studies texts and biographies written for children, Carol Haupt argues that Indian princesses are beginning to lose

their hold over the American imagination. Basing her conclusions on scaled scores of characters' activity levels, illustrations accompanying the written text, and the evaluative terms employed in descriptive passages, Haupt writes in "The Image of the American Indian Female in the Biographical Literature and Social Studies Textbook of the Elementary Schools" that this stereotypical pattern has nearly disappeared.

A closer look at some of Haupt's premises produces serious questions, however. First, Haupt admits that in the twelve social studies texts she evaluated, Pocahontas and Sacagawea received nearly universal attention and emphasis. The same works most often offered negligible or no information about other native women. Secondly, although she identified seven prominent historical Indian women for her research, Haupt could locate only one biography about each person, except those focusing on Pocahontas and Sacagawea. Ten works concerned each of these two renowned Indian princesses, and they were the only biographies of native women available in most libraries. Pocahontas and Sacagawea, attaining legendary status because of their purported roles in helping "civilization" to achieve its goals, thus continue to be featured in textbooks and biographies, most often to the exclusion of other historical native women.

Since many publishers include such factors as gender and ethnicity when they allot space in textbooks, they have proliferated, rather than undermined, the Indian princess stereotype by assigning Pocahontas and Sacagawea prominent space.

Biographers and their publishers, because they have responded to the demands and expectations of a market economy, have also focused on Pocahontas and Sacagawea and no other native women. They have accomplished the same end.

Not only have America's most prominent Indian princesses continued to receive nearly exclusive attention in children's textbooks and biographies. The language used to assess them has not changed significantly either. In her research, Haupt designates certain adjectives, including "helpful," "determined," "courageous," "friendly," and "brave," as "positive." Indeed, writers have implied their approval of Sacagawea when describing her as "helpful." What Haupt and many other writers, publishers, and readers have not explored, however, is the concept that such common evaluations have eliminated the possibility of conflicting interpretations. Has Sacagawea, for example, hurt others by helping the explorers? Could credible alternate motivations have spurred her actions? Would some readers interpret her actions as other than helpful? Since writers apply "positive" words and meanings to Pocahontas and Sacagawea, they have suppressed such perplexing questions. They have, in addition, sustained the viability of the Indian princess stereotype.

Certain critics[18] have long argued that it is time for America to assess its ignorance of native populations, time to see that what has previously been thought does not approach reality, time to understand that diversity is opportunity. But what these exhortations seem to ignore is the power and pervasiveness of culturally-

created realities.

Produced in a span of nearly two centuries, Sacagawea texts offer the opportunity to observe the power and patterns of the birth, growth, and changes in the "reality" of the Indian princess, one symbol of manifest destiny in America. In this study, I examine works that present interpretations of Sacagawea through four historical periods between 1804 and 1989. In addition, within each time frame, I employ the dual lens of context and text and their interpenetrations. Although all of the narratives depicting Sacagawea have stressed aspects of the story illustrating manifest destiny, and although one era does not suddenly give way to another, distinct variations and themes have appeared from the early nineteenth century to the 1890s, from the beginning of the Progressive era to the U.S. entry into World War I, from the 1940s to the end of the 1960s, and from 1970 to the present.

In chapter two, I examine the Lewis and Clark Expedition journals and the earliest compilations of the original scripts. These texts document a specific historical event and certain people's activities within that context. In addition, as such works disclose their authors' and early editors' responses to and evaluations of these people and events, they reveal their creators' interconnections with social "realities" informing nineteenth-century America. As the diarists and editors define Sacagawea as a savage squaw, they provide the historical base of the mission story, as well as the Sacagawea narrative. Also tapping into American mythic needs and desires, these definitional texts provide the ground work upon which the Sacagawea

legend has been erected.

Chapter three focuses on the birth and florescence of the Sacagawea legend during the progressive period. Guided by enduring cultural concerns, as well as timely issues of their own era, novelists, sculptors, historians, painters, and playwrights expand on foundations laid in the expedition journals. Accepting the bare-bones narrative of the journey, interpreters fill in lapses and omissions and counter previous interpretations of this native woman, thus creating a legendary figure. No longer just one of the participants or even an interesting side note of the exploration, Sacagawea in this era becomes the very savior of the mission, an American heroine.

In chapter four, I survey works produced between the 1940s and 1969 as they offer variations and elaborations of the Sacagawea legend. Paintings, histories, novels, and films of this period continue to display an Indian princess, the guide to the expedition. In addition to maintaining a connection to mythic meanings, Sacagawea's portrayers from this period demonstrate that by exploring her character, they can address and test American cultural ideologies, especially miscegenation.

Chapter five offers an examination of Sacagawea texts created in the past two decades. Some of these latest works reveal the legend may no longer sustain absolute cultural consensus, as seen in historical reassessments of Sacagawea's role in the expedition. While most popular portrayals continue to tout her as an Ameri-

can heroine, an emblem of the rectitude of manifest destiny, an historical romance additionally delineates that Sacagawea was a woman whose character and actions reflect twentieth-century feminist beliefs, attitudes, and ideals. Breaking with typical approaches to the narrative, one Sacagawea text of the period employs her character as a means of questioning frontier traditions.

In characterizing these different periods, I do not suggest that there have been no departures from general patterns established within an era. I do, however, assert that creators have drawn their raw materials from fundamental ideological concerns born of each period. Close examination of these texts reveals that significant changes in characterizations reflect and correspond to changing needs and interests of the American culture. Perhaps more importantly, these texts also document the constancy of a broad cultural consensus in response to Sacagawea and all Indian princesses. These two factors, an appeal based on a necessary connection to cultural myths and flexibility in addressing timely cultural questions, account for the rise and endurance of the Sacagawea legend. As Nancy B. Black and Bette S. Weidman claim in White on Red: Images of the American Indian, stereotypical images of Indians tell very little about the peoples they appear to describe. They do, on the other hand, reveal much about the culture from which they have sprung. In this study, I explore American culture as it reveals itself through the portrayals of Sacagawea, an enduring, yet flexible Indian princess.

CHAPTER 2

THE ORIGINAL EXPEDITION JOURNALS AND EARLIEST EDITIONS: RAW MATERIALS OF LEGEND

Narratives of Indian princesses have long elicited a positive response in American culture, an emotion first tapped by Captain John Smith's portrayal of Pocahontas. Nearly two centuries later, several members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition recorded daily observations of their trek into America's newest wilderness. In doing so, they supplied materials from which yet another Indian princess legend eventually arose. Although these journals detailed instances of Sacagawea's cooperation and helpfulness during the journey, America did not immediately embrace her as a cultural heroine. While expedition members may have been subconsciously aware of the symbolic importance of this native woman's apparently enthusiastic participation in the mission, they did not point to Sacagawea as a unique contributor to the expedition.

The men provided considerable commentary about Sacagawea, but such material was negligible in comparison to descriptions of the territory and narratives of events that occurred on the trip. Typically focusing on their own activities and concerns, the journal keepers included accounts of the native woman only when her actions intersected with theirs. While the writers commended Sacagawea because of special contributions to the success of the mission, they hardly singled her out for higher praise than they conferred on other members of the Corps of Discovery.

Based upon the number and types of comments these writers advanced, readers of the original journals would not automatically dub Sacagawea a "heroine."

If these texts appeared to deny Sacagawea's heroism, the earliest compilations of the journals, which reached the American public decades before the original scripts were published, portrayed Sacagawea as an even more peripheral character. Thomas Jefferson, who ordered members of the Corps to keep daily logs, never intended that the originals would be published because of their lack of polish, their bulk, and the costs of printing. Although Jefferson urged the captains to edit and publish their texts as quickly as possible in order to familiarize the public with western frontiers and to demonstrate the feasibility of establishing American settlements, a variety of complications arose, preventing their immediate publication. Nicholas Biddle and later Paul Allen eventually edited Lewis's and Clark's journals, producing History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri, Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River to the Pacific Ocean. Performed During the Years 1804-5-6. By Order of the Government of the United States in 1814. This two-volume text, popularly known as the Biddle edition, is an exceedingly condensed work. After completing his editing duties, Biddle insisted that expedition manuscripts be deposited in the Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia to assure their safety. General readers, therefore, had access to only edited, condensed versions of the journey for nearly a century.[1]

While Biddle and Allen included most of the major incidents delineating Sacagawea's activities and some of the captains' evaluations of her in their text, other elements of the Biddle edition actually impeded the spread of Sacagawea's name into popular culture. The editors, for instance, omitted many specific details of Sacagawea's actions. More importantly, the text collapsed Lewis's and Clark's individual entries into a single, composite narrative of each day's most important events. As they presented the journey through a single lens of a collective "we," Biddle and Allen denied the existence of two individual voices. Instead, they posited the image that the captains saw the same things and felt identically about them. Some readers might prefer the simplicity and directness of the Biddle edition, but this homogeneous representation of the expedition and its people essentially suppressed the polyvocality of the original journals. While Lewis and Clark expressed some markedly differing opinions about Sacagawea, the composite commentary of the Biddle edition delineated a flatter character, one that would never be viewed as the key to the sacred mission into the wilderness.

Although neither the original journals, which had been examined by few people, nor the earliest editorial compilations, which enjoyed only moderate readership,[2] pointed to Sacagawea as a unique contributor to the expedition, I believe that the original expedition journals of Lewis, Clark, Whitehouse, and Ordway, in addition to the Gass text as edited by Patrick M'Keehan, and the Biddle edition require analysis in conjunction with the Sacagawea legend. First, these

scripts are cultural artifacts, disclosing interconnections with certain intersubjective, socially-constructed values and ideals associated with frontier mythic traditions. In this chapter, I first consider how the germinal works of the Sacagawea legend connect to patterns of collective conceptualization, including notions of mission, the land, and native savagery.

The expedition journals and early editions have, in addition, served as a fountainhead to the Sacagawea legend. If American culture has required that narratives of legendary figures derive from historical fact, as Doty claims in "Silent Myths Singing in the Blood," such texts testify to Sacagawea's "real" existence. They also advance the first depictions of Sacagawea. Reflecting common cultural conceptions, the men of the Corps of Discovery most often define Sacagawea as a savage squaw, but at certain points in their narratives, these writers depart from collective constructions. In several places, for example, they characterize Sacagawea in ways that appear to repudiate her inclusion in the category of savagery. Although they stop short of announcing her heroism, the original journals delineate a complex portrait of an ambiguous woman.

The original journals and first editorial publications of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, therefore, provide vital data concerning the Sacagawea legend. They testify to her historical existence and supply initial portraits of her. Such works also record correlations, lapses, and discontinuities in common cultural meanings that intersect with descriptions of this native woman. In the remainder of the

chapter, I discuss the earliest portrayals of Sacagawea and identify questions that emerge from those texts.

A significant organizing principle of particular beliefs and values in America, frontier myths motivated actions and influenced interpretations of events on the continent over a long period. These narratives maintained unique potency from the earliest colonial period until the turn of the nineteenth century. One of the components of these traditions included the notion that God mandated a Euro-American mission to sanctify the wilderness by usurping savage land. According to Segal and Stineback in Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny and Leitch Wright in The Only Land They Knew, colonists watched European diseases annihilate more than half of indigenous populations during the seventeenth century.

Not only believing that God sent these epidemics to chastise heathens for wickedness and to vacate the land for Euro-American use, settlers additionally declared that native lands were vacuum domicilium. As they voiced and enacted collective beliefs, colonists furthermore claimed that "empty" or "wasted" territories would be "sanctified" through agriculture.[3] Engaging in open conflicts with indigenous peoples, Euro-Americans typified these actions as "just wars," religious enterprises to rebuke natives for capturing colonists and for threatening civilization.

Throughout the eighteenth century, as colonists encroached on other native territories, other hostilities broke out along the western line of America's "frontiers." These wars also illustrated and reinforced collective conceptions of

mission, land, and native savagery in the New World. Colonial perspectives are inscribed in the titles and imagery associated with two of the most important conflicts of this period.

In 1756-63, colonists participated in the French and Indian War. Not the Seven Years' War, as it was titled in Europe, this conflict, according to the Euro-American designation, distinctly delineated a double enemy of the civilized New World. Captivity narratives, histories, and sermons, the most important written texts of this warfare period, proliferated images of colonists as surrounded by savages. As these sources testified, heathens abducted Protestant New Englanders and subjected them to the perils of the untamed wilderness. Native allies of the French furthermore delivered these innocent victims to Canada for conversion to Catholicism, an eventually that would condemn their eternal souls. As colonists engaged in and defined the French and Indian War, they conceived of themselves as staving off native and French enemies who jointly threatened consecrated ground and the very foundations of American civilization.

Almost immediately after the French signed the Treaty of Paris in 1763, an act marking their abandonment of former native allies, Pontiac organized the Ottawas and other indigenous groups of the Great Lakes region to resist encroachments on their lands. Although frontier mythic traditions had projected notions that all aboriginal peoples belonged within the single category of savagery and that they shared the desire and potential to destroy America's mission by

overrunning "civilized" land, Pontiac's Uprising marked the first time that natives united to stop further Euro-American settlement. This incursion thus provided concrete evidence attesting to collective conceptions of savagery. Terming this episode an "Uprising" or a "Rebellion" rather than a "war," American historians legitimated the notion the savage enemy had unjustly attempted a violent, but limited, insurrection against appropriately-established, civilized settlements.

After the American Revolution, the young republic established several key strategies to deal with indigenous populations within its borders. These policies also reflected culturally condoned images of the nation's sacred mission and native savagery. As Francis Paul Prucha asserts in The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, officials sought to protect natives and their sovereign rights through the Trade and Intercourse Acts of the 1780s. Although he states that the Acts imposed numerous restrictions upon Euro-American settlers, Prucha also admits that government officials failed to enforce aboriginal land rights.

In Expansion and American Indian Policy: 1783-1812, Reginald Horsman contends that these policies sanctioned the desire for expansion during the last decades of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. As a result, natives lost huge tracts east of the Mississippi through land cessions, an integral part of treaty-making with the American government. Such actions were possible because Americans held individual and collective convictions about the prerogative, if not the obligation, to convert wilderness into agricultural lands. U.S. policies, the most

profound means of converting frontier territories into civilized settlements, thus demonstrated an interconnection with frontier myths.

Just as historic events and their interpretations intersected with these narrative traditions from the earliest colonial period, a variety of cultural texts also reflected and reinforced collective constructions of a sacred mission on the continent and of native savagery. One particular American literary genre performed this task exceptionally well. Published as early as the 1680s, captivity narratives maintained great popular appeal throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Mary Rowlandson's captivity, A True Story of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, A Minister's Wife in New England: Wherein is Set Forth, The Cruel and Inhumane Usage she Underwent amongst the Heathens, for Eleven Weeks time: And her Deliverance from them, appeared in at least thirty printings. Rowlandson's narrative and another captivity were among the eight best-sellers of the century, according to Louise Barnett in The Ignoble Savage (15). Soon after 1700, John Williams' narrative, The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion or the Captivity and Deliverance of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield, sold one thousand copies in one week (Slotkin, Regeneration 96).

Although religious approval of captivities possibly accounted for this genre's popularity, since these scripts were not considered to be frivolous fictions, mythic considerations also help to explain their devoted readership. The most influential of all early American texts, captivities illustrated commonly-held beliefs, attitudes,

values, and behaviors. They thus helped to frame, reiterate, and justify conceptions of mission, the land, and aboriginals. Portraying native savagery and a frontier languishing under the horrors of barbarism, indeed projecting a land yearning for civilization, captivity narratives possessed power that inspired a nation. Captivities were among the most important texts serving to project and compel belief in native savagery and the mission to convert the frontier into civilization.

Nearly all captivities delineated indigenous peoples as ignoble savages, heathens in open conflict with people charged to fulfill the mission of extending the sacred space. Puritan captivity writers characterize natives and their culture as entirely "other." When Rowlandson confronts the "savageness and brutishness of the barbarous Enemy," for example, she describes the natives as "a company of heli-hounds, roaring, singing, ranting and insulting," ready "to devour" her and her child (2). In contrast to civilized peoples, "black creatures" dance in the night, creating a scene that is "a lively resemblance of hell" (3). In this text and others, Puritan readers encountered the ultimate enemy, one who would, at any moment, eat Christians. Even worse, such savages might tempt them adopt heathenish ways.

Ironic tensions arise in Rowlandson's captivity, however, as some of her comments conflict with proclamations of her captors' savagery. Although she offers no praise of the natives, Rowlandson survives her ordeal because of the treatment she receives from them. When she becomes tired during a march, for instance, one native gives her a horse; another furnishes a Bible. They always

provide food (4, 7, 13). Attributing these specific acts of kindness as manifestations of God's mercy, Rowlandson continues to profess that her captors are cruel and savage. By displacing the agency of benevolence from natives and ascribing it to God, Rowlandson avoids the ambiguity of presenting a complex enemy. These captors cannot be both "savage" and "civilized."

Although Rowlandson is the first American captivity writer to illustrate and reinforce precepts of native savagery, David Beer writes that "The captivity story followed the frontier as it crept westward, and was always handy as 'evidence' that the natives of the land were savage beasts" (215). Identical images can be observed in John Williams's 1795 narrative. He delineates "cruel and bloodthirsty" heathens who murder innocent settlers (14, 16, 19). Although Williams eventually admits that natives actually carry the him and other captives in their arms to the village, he claims that this phenomenon occurred because "their savage cruel tempers were so overruled by God" (29). Like Rowlandson, Williams and narrators of later captivities proliferate the model of a dehumanized enemy, the savage "other."

In captivities, as well as war narratives and histories, writers verified the savagery of native culture by illustrating the harsh treatment of native females. For example, in Memoirs of Odds Adventures, Strange Deliverances, Etc., in the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq., Commander of the Garrison on St. George River, in the District of Maine, New Englander John Gyles describes the "drudgery" of "squaws" (89). Further demonstrating the severity of native women's

subordination, Gyles writes that although male slaves eat the evening meal with the other men of the tribe, native women are permitted to retrieve the leftovers only after the males have eaten their fill (99). Elizabeth Hanson's as-told-to captivity,[4] An Account of the Captivity of Elizabeth Hanson, Now or Late of Kachecky, in New England: Who, with Four of her Children and Servant-Maid, was taken captive by the **Indians**, and carried into **Canada** concurs with other representations of the mistreatment of indigenous women within traditional tribal societies. Although an aboriginal mother and grown daughter attempt to help Hanson and her children, the native women state that they can do nothing because they must resign themselves to male authority (Bownas 13).

Captivity narratives also proliferated the concept of mission on the continent. Although the earliest captivities delineated the frontier as a threat to Euro-American society, by the mid-eighteenth century, these narratives began to extol the virtues of expanding civilization. As Phillips Carleton argues in "The Indian Captivity," this uniquely American genre helped to create frontier myths by depicting the "line of the fluid frontiers receding into the West, [changing] the colonists into a new people" (180). Other texts of the period, according to Richard Slotkin and Harvey Pearce, also transformed images of a threatening wilderness. As the growing population's attraction to fertile western lands increased, the frontier no longer signified a place where God's chosen would degenerate into heathenish ways; the wilderness instead became a potential garden. Such new portraits of the frontier

therefore reinforced belief in the continental destiny of America.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, historical events and their interpretations, as well as captivity narratives and other cultural texts, exemplified and proliferated a constellation of common ideas that compelled strong emotion on the continent. America's frontier myths possessed immense power because the very words used to express thought have given them shape and direction and symbolic substance, according to Francis Jennings in The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest.

The nation in effect codified the idea that all aboriginal cultures were essentially alike and that civilization had an obligation to tame the land. In typifying natives as "others" and their actions as "invasions," "raids," and "incursions," collective concepts typified indigenous peoples as savages with no right to land or voice. The dominant culture precluded speculation on the legitimacy of the pioneer settlements. By their very existence, such communities stood as proof that the mission to transform wilderness into civilization was just. In a simplified bifurcation of savagery and civilization, natives and their traditions justified expansion, since "less developed" cultures and customs had to yield to more "advanced" societies. By 1800, myths of manifest destiny, depicting the wilderness as the line separating savagery from civilization with pioneers as its vanguard, made the issue of progress irrefutable in America.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition, born of Thomas Jefferson's dreams and

aspirations for America, embodied the idea of progress on the continent. Concerned about the relatively dense populations in the East and convinced of the need to keep natives behind the line of civilization, Jefferson hoped that abundant western lands would assure Americans the simplicity and virtue of an agrarian life for centuries. Their consensus spanning more than 150 years, nearly every source discussing the Lewis and Clark Expedition has argued that this journey constituted America's most important achievement in so far as it "opened up" land for settlement and inspired Americans' pioneering spirit.[5] Explicitly expressing tenets of manifest destiny in "The Higher Significance in the Lewis and Clark Expedition," Frederick Young claims that this mission extended "the realm of enlightenment, science, and the arts, and the securing of a grander home for the institutions of liberty and equality" in a land whose history constitutes "the central and enduring process of progress in civilization" (2,12).

Bernard DeVoto enlarges upon Young's arguments in The Journals of Lewis and Clark, emphasizing that documents produced during the journey also proliferate conceptions of manifest destiny. While DeVoto claims that the expedition "gave the entire West to the American people as something with which the mind could deal," he further asserts that the original journals projected America's future. These texts simultaneously created and satisfied the westering desire in the American people (lii). As evidenced by specific references to their wilderness mission and to the peoples they encountered, journal-keepers of the Lewis and

Clark Expedition illustrated their relationship to certain principles of frontier mythic tradition. Not only aware of such values and beliefs, Captains Lewis and Clark and their men also enacted and illustrated them for westering Americans.

Most sources concerned with written materials emerging from the expedition focus exclusively on Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and their journals. Some scholars, nonetheless, discuss texts produced by other members of the Corps of Discovery, including those of Sergeant Patrick Gass, Private Joseph Whitehouse, and Sergeant John Ordway. A few researchers also comment on these men's lives. According to Ernest Osgood's The Field Notes of Captain William Clark: 1803-5, this "band of intrepid voyagers" had previously been hunters, trappers, and traders in America's "wilderness" (xiii). Although many researchers merely offer generalizations about the rank and file of the expedition, some critics also comment on individual members.

In The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, Milo Quaife asserts that little information exists concerning John Ordway's life before or after the expedition. Arguing that he was second in command to the captains and therefore the most valuable of the men, Quaife adds that Ordway "continued to the end to play a man's part in the development of America's great inland empire" (28). Although he does not directly counter such declarations, in the introduction to Gass's Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,[6] James Hosmer argues that Patrick Gass, a frontiersman weaned on the "utmost limit of the

frontier" as a soldier and "Indian-fighter," deserved the highest recognition for his contributions to the mission (xiv-xvi).

Despite slight differences in critical estimations of the men's individual worth, scholars concur upon the value of Ordway's, Whitehouse's and Gass's journals. In addition to manifesting certain personal information, these scripts, produced by those enlisted during America's epic journey into the wilderness, reflect that Sergeant John Ordway, Private Joseph Whitehouse, and Sergeant Patrick Gass embraced values and ideas inscribed by myths of manifest destiny. Although a sense of mission to convert wilderness into civilization is an important tenet of such narrative patterns, these men do not write directly about the fundamental goals of the enterprise. Such a phenomenon, in all likelihood, stems from the fact that the rank and file of the expedition had little, if any, role in conceiving the mission or formulating plans to achieve it.

Clark's journal plainly states that this is the case. When the captains decide not to dispatch a small party back to St. Louis, for example, Clark writes that the change in plans should create no problems because

> We have never hinted to any one of the party that we had such a scheem in contemplation, and all appear perfectly to have made up their minds to Succeed in the expedition or perish in the attempt . . . no one shows anything but the greatest devotion.[7] (Thwaites 2: 175-6)[8]

The first portion of this entry essentially substantiates the idea that the men have not participated in planning and executing the mission. The rest of Clark's

commentary, however, points out another consideration, one which Lewis also addresses. As Lewis writes, everyone is "zealously attached to the enterprise, and anxious to proceed" (1: 284-5). Although the men do not themselves write about the mission, such comments indicate that they know their duty, are devoted to it, and are willing to die in the effort to succeed in its execution.

If rarely offering philosophical commentary, these journalists compensate in their documentation of everyday details of the journey. Concentrating on their own lives and activities, the expedition men are particularly prolix, for example, in their descriptions of illnesses. Within entries delineating commonplace events, Gass, Ordway, and Whitehouse also illustrate their interconnections with frontier mythic traditions, divulged particularly through their assertions about indigenous peoples. Sometimes referring to aboriginals as "natives" or by tribal designations, each writers nonetheless most often employs the label "savages." The men thus codify at least two culturally significant principles. First, although native groups were separated by hundreds of miles and despite their remarkably varied customs and traditions, the label "savage" collapses all local distinctions. It implies that, in the minds of these men, similarities far outweigh differences. Secondly, since they view natives as basically alike, Gass, Whitehouse, and Ordway essentially categorize all indigenous peoples as "other" and juxtapose them and their societies with those of "civilization." Not merely neutral designations, "savage" and "savagery" bear implicit cultural judgments.

Specific entries from the men's journals document such estimations. One common characteristic of savagery, according to their entries, is avarice and thievery. As Whitehouse writes, for instance, they had to bury their boats in different places "So that if the Savages Should find one perhaps they would not find the other & we would have Some left Still" (7: 98). Ordway concurs that savages go to extreme lengths to steal goods, describing how one native plotted to kill another for an ordinary blanket (Quaife 321).[9]

Thievery is not the sole mark of savage existence, however. As Gass writes of the Mandans, "Their superstitious credulity is so great, that they believe by using the head well, the living buffaloe will come, and that they will get a supply of meat" (66).[10] Perceiving the ritual feeding of a buffalo skull to assure abundance for the next season as mere superstition, Gass separates himself and his culture from natives to indicate their savagery. Also commenting on indigenous customs, Ordway observes, "then all the Savages men women and children of any size danced forming a circle round a fire & jumping up" (348). Even though the expedition men eventually join in the dancing, they do so only as short-term participants of savage occupations. Echoing images and interpretations offered in Rowlandson's captivity narrative, Ordway writes about two distinct peoples, men who will one day return to civilization, and natives who will forever remain savage.

Like captivity writers, these diarists accept the tenet that the level of "civilization" corresponds to behavior and treatment of its females. Ordway, for

example, points out the "drudgery" native women are forced to endure while the men take their ease (348). In a commentary about native women, Gass highlights another element of savagery when he claims that "chastity is not very highly esteemed and the severe and loathsome effects of certain French principles are not uncommon among them" (original emphasis, 70). Associating venereal disease with native women's lewd behaviors, Gass also attributes the source of the scourge to the Old World. He thereby excludes Americans from sharing in responsibility for its spread. Reflecting and reinforcing cultural interpretations of his time, Gass concretizes the idea that truly civilized women are, above all else, pure.[11] Native women, based on such observations, remain outside that definition. By extending this reasoning, all indigenous peoples, because of their traditions and behaviors, define savagery. Delineating qualities of savagery in their entries, the rank and file of America's epic journey into the wilderness thus illustrate their immersion in America's mythic tradition.

If scholars have perhaps failed to discover details about the expedition's enlisted men's lives, they have neglected no facet of Lewis's and Clark's existence. Every edition of the journals and several biographies probe the captains' early and later lives.[12] Although researchers do not agree on all points, such as whether Lewis was murdered or committed suicide not long after the expedition, they generally concur that certain early experiences and characteristics helped the captains become uniquely qualified leaders. Both had been frontiersmen who

hunted and blazed trails; both were soldiers who participated in protecting pioneer settlements from incursions by native groups. Though neither obtained an extensive formal education, Lewis and Clark received a far superior form of instruction for their task. They were tested by the wilderness.

Reflecting attitudes and beliefs undoubtedly reaped from such experiences, Lewis and Clark demonstrate their connection to frontier mythic traditions in their journals. While the enlisted men do not directly address the issue of mission and its importance to America, both Lewis and Clark express themselves on the topic. The pragmatic Clark writes, for instance, that the valley of the Columbia River would be able to support forty to fifty thousand people "if properly cultivated" (4: 220). In this entry, Clark underscores two important concepts. First, he connects their journey to a future goal that has been inscribed by myth. By examining the terrain, members of the Corps of Discovery blaze a trail into the wilderness and prepare the way for pioneers to settle the valley and thus extend civilization. Secondly, in his use of the words "properly cultivated," Clark demonstrates his acceptance of distinctions between savagery and civilization. Since indigenous economies in this region were primarily based on hunting and gathering, Clark observes their subsistence strategies and evaluates them through Euro-American conceptualizations. Essentially declaring the territory vacuum domicilium, he projects a future when the land will no longer be empty or wasted. Rather, it will be put to appropriate agricultural use, in accordance with God's decree.

While Clark's remarks about the mission focus on pragmatic matters, Lewis's are more philosophical. When they leave the Mandans, for example, Lewis writes,

> This little fleet altho' not quite so rispectable as those of Columbus or Capt. Cook, were still viewed by us with as much pleasure as those deservedly famed adventurers ever beheld theirs . . . we were now about to penetrate a country at least two thousand miles in width, on which the foot of civilized man had never trodden. (1: 284-5)

Here Lewis documents his thinking about the importance of opening territories to civilization. Although he points out the simplicity of his boats in comparison to those of Columbus and Cook, Lewis equates the challenge and significance of his mission to theirs. This journey, in his perception, will have as great an impact on America's future as Columbus's had on the world.

In another evaluation of the mission, offered on the evening of his thirty-first birthday, Lewis comments,

> I reflected that I had as yet done but little, very little, indeed, to further the hapiness of the human race, or to advance the information of the succeeding generation. . . . resolved in future, to redouble my exertions and at least indeavour to promote those two primary objects of human existence . . . to live for mankind, as I have heretofore lived for myself. (original emphasis, 2: 368)

While most critics cite this portion of the log as evidence of Lewis's melancholy or of his tendency to introspection, such remarks also record the author's attitudes toward humankind and its future. As far as Lewis is concerned, this mission, the necessary precursor to the establishment of pioneer settlements, is his offering to

"mankind." If he succeeds, he believes that he may then have adequately contributed to humanity. Such comments essentially explicate Lewis's devotion to America's mission and his participation in frontier traditions.

Another issue suggested in this entry remains clouded, however. What peoples, in Lewis's mind, constitute the "human race" and "mankind?" Does he believe that his endeavor will benefit indigenous populations, or does he even consider them? Although this particular entry does not clarify these points, other observations in Lewis's and Clark's logs document certain shared perceptions about native peoples, concepts which have arisen from mythic patterns.

A chart prepared for Congress, for example, provides evidence that Lewis and Clark might not have wholly joined in the practice of conflating all natives into a single category since they differentiate native societies by name, population, territories, and other distinguishing characteristics (7: 80-120). As James Ronda argues in Lewis and Clark among the Indians, the captains desired to be accurate in their ethnographic assessments, but they maintained no sense of impartiality whatsoever. He writes that "Disinterested observation was the farthest thing from their minds. Because the captains were confident of their own cultural superiority, they never doubted the wisdom of judging Indians by white standards" (114). When commenting on potential trade, for example, Lewis and Clark write that the Tetons are "the vilest miscreants of the savage race" (7: 98). While they differentiate between the Tetons and other natives, this comment nonetheless

subsumes differences, placing indigenous peoples into a universal classification. Tetons, as all natives, are savages. As other commentaries indicate, natives have no conception of land possession, they lack agriculture, and they wander throughout their territories.[13] While reporting actual patterns of native life, the captains interpret cultural systems through frontier mythic meanings.

Specific journal entries submitted by both Lewis and Clark also demonstrate such evaluations. The leaders refer to individual natives and their nations as "savages" or as "uncivilized" throughout the logs (2: 363, 355; 3: 152, 362). Lewis writes, for example, of his distress that the mission's success depends on the "caprice of a few savages who are ever as fickle as the wind" (2: 258). Seemingly less judgmental, Clark notes, "Their Laws like those of all uncivilized Indians consist of a Set of customs which has grown our of their local Situations" (3: 361). In spite of his acknowledgement of the existence of native laws and his awareness of the relationship between customs and "local situations," Clark demonstrates his acceptance of the differences between "civilized" and "uncivilized" peoples.

If Clark maintains a mental model strictly differentiating the two classifications, Lewis expresses open disgust when he witnesses Shoshones eating a deer,

> they dismounted and ran in tumbling over each other like a parcel of famished dogs each seizing and tearing away a part of the intestens . . . some were eating the kidnies the melt and liver and the blood runing from the corners of their mouths . . . I really did not untill now think that human nature ever presented itself in a shape so nearly allyed to the brute creation. (2: 355)

This behavior, in Lewis's estimation, signifies more than local customs or mere differences in food ways. By first presenting a simile that compares natives to "famished dogs," he begins to define a line separating humans from animals. As he asserts, Shoshones are closer to the latter. Lewis then illustrates that these natives eat animal parts he considers unfit for human consumption as they devour the entire animal raw, an act not permissible for civilized beings, even if driven by the extremes of hunger. Thus positioning himself off-stage from the bloody scene, an obviously superior observer from an clearly advanced culture, Lewis does not necessarily deny the Shoshones' humanity. He nonetheless places such "savages" on a level far below that which defines "civilization."

Lewis and Clark, in addition to the Biddle edition, verify that savagery, by definition, implies the mistreatment of women. As a chapter headnote of the Biddle edition states, "the treatment of women is the standard by which the virtues of an Indian may be known" (526). Clark also remarks in his field notes that Teton and Arikara women do all the drudgery and are slaves to their men (Osgood 149, 159), and Lewis provides the same observations about the Shoshones (3: 10). Like their men, the captains also employ arguments about women's chastity as indications of savagery, often combining female drudgery and promiscuity to establish their equation (e.g. 2: 371; 3: 239).

When Lewis observes Clatsop, Chinnook, and Killamuck societies, for instance, he states that native men not only force their wives and daughters to

perform drudgery; they even prostitute them for mere trifles (3: 315). In another entry, Lewis seems to distinguish Columbia River groups from others, but his attending phrase "in common with other savage nations," documents his inability to conceive of social or cultural distinctions among tribes. As Lewis proclaims, "our women" are "indebted to civilization for their ease and comfort" (3: 316). According to this observation, only civilization, the savior of Euro-American females, can overcome savage conditions enslaving all womanhood. That argument, in itself, illustrates the need to spread the sacred space of freedom. It also justifies actions on the continent.

Although these entries expose the captains' evaluations of native life, others point to a more serious equation, one which signifies that all indigenous peoples are innately savage. Both Lewis and Clark concur with their men in pinpointing theft as a quality of savage life (4: 258-330), but Lewis extends the argument by writing that "the treachery of the aborigenes of America" constitutes a "trait in their character" (4: 90). Again conflating all natives, Lewis hints that theft is naturally associated with the savage condition.

What he only implies in the previous entry, Lewis expresses explicitly in commentary concerned with native women. When a Shoshone woman stops to have a baby and then catches up with the group on the move, Lewis states, "It appears to me that the facility and ease with which the women of the aborigines of North America bring fourth their children is reather a gift of nature . . . it is a

rare occurence for any of them to experience difficulty in childbirth" (3: 40-41). The Biddle editors slightly rework Lewis's words but maintain his meaning by stating, "easy delivery of the Indian woman is wholly constitutional" (364-65). In spite of the congratulatory tone of these proclamations, they imply no real admiration of native women. Instead, phrases like "a gift of nature" and "wholly constitutional" certify that native women are intrinsically different from civilized women. These comments attempt to confirm that aboriginal peoples are distinct from Euro-Americans not only based upon social variations but because of their savage nature. However long it might take, native convention could eventually be superseded by Euro-American custom, but innate savagery cannot. Such thinking, in effect, precludes "savages" from ever becoming "civilized."[14]

Journals written by various members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the earliest editions of such scripts thus demonstrate their creators' immersion in particular intersubjective realities of frontier traditions. Not simply reflecting patterns of American thought, these works have prescribed socially-mandated interpretations about the land, the natives who occupied it, and the American mission to transform wilderness into civilization. Through illustration and validation, they have essentially projected the virtues of such mythic conceptions to an accepting populace, authorizing individual and collective beliefs and actions in America.

The original journals and subsequent editions, moreover, present raw

materials from which the Sacagawea legend has sprung. As G. S. Snyder asserts, nothing should cloud readers' knowledge of the "real" Sacagawea since she is "clearly on record" in the daily diaries (36). In some sense, Snyder is correct. The men all testify to Sacagawea's presence during the mission, and they concur on the order of events and most often about Sacagawea's role in them. Careful reading of these texts, however, shows that they do not represent a single voice. Arising from disparate viewpoints born of the complex nexus of event, context, and observer/creator, the original logs document the interplay of personal observation and cultural interpretation. The diarists, in fact, provide diverse opinions and offer sometimes different Sacagaweas, personae from which subsequent writers and creators have chosen and upon which they have expanded. In the remainder of this chapter, therefore, I examine how germinal texts depict Sacagawea.

Although every journal-keeper acknowledges Sacagawea's presence during the mission, disparities in their perceptions of her are apparent. One difference in their projections, for example, is partly attested to by the number of times they write about her. Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, for instance, mention her fairly frequently in the nearly two years they are in contact with her. Clark comments on Sacagawea most often, offering more than forty-eight observations, while Lewis totals more than thirty-eight notations. Sergeant Ordway and Privates Gass and Whitehouse describe her activities also, but far less often, with nineteen, nine, and eight references, respectively.[15]

The difference between the number of times the captains and their men remark on Sacagawea might be explained in part by their functions. Many of the comments, whether offered by the captains or their men, focus on her daily activities, such as gathering and/or preparing foods, walking on shore, or identifying landmarks. Occupied by hunting and scouting, the enlisted men were often separated from the larger group. Lewis and Clark, on the other hand, generally stayed within easy range of the main body of the Corps, except when one or the other undertook a secondary exploration. Like the captains, Sacagawea nearly always travelled with the principal party. Even when gathering various foods, she sought them along the main route. Sacagawea, therefore, probably spent more time near the captains than she did the other diarists.

An additional factor helps to explain the difference in the number of comments submitted about Sacagawea. Although all of them interacted with her nearly every day, Sacagawea also proved useful to Lewis and Clark in an official capacity during events that the enlisted men might not have witnessed. Clark, for instance, mentions that she functioned as their translator on four occasions, and Lewis comments on that role three times. Whitehouse, Gass, and Ordway, combined, note her translating efforts only twice. Clark, moreover, is the only member of the expedition to report on Sacagawea's importance as a peace sign among various native groups while Lewis is the sole writer that mentions her role in averting treachery among the Shoshones. Probably not even aware of these

situations, the other men do not comment on them. More consistent physical proximity, combined with Sacagawea's specific usefulness to the captains, likely accounts for some of the difference in the number of entries highlighting Sacagawea.

Although the number of commentaries about Sacagawea might hint at the men's individual estimation of her significance, the contents of the entries point out more accurately how they perceive her. Some of the captains' remarks seem more obviously evaluative than those offered by their men, but even apparently descriptive commentaries provide glimpses of observers' judgments and their relationship to common cultural conceptions. All of the diarists, for example, generally call Sacagawea "the squar" or "the Indian woman" or "our interpreter's wife." Whitehouse never mentions her by any designation other than the last. From the first moment they become aware of her until they leave her nearly two years later, only on rare occasions do any of the diarists use her name. Claiming that "Sacagawea" was too difficult to pronounce, much less spell, several critics have asserted that the writers were forced to use other means of identification. This argument, however, does not withstand scrutiny as the diarists often cite the names of other natives, always men and usually leaders of their people.

Proving their ability to tackle native names when they deem it important, the men's use of various titles to identify Sacagawea thus suggests that certain cultural conceptions might well have informed their choices. By employing the designation

"our interpreter's wife," the men delineate a doubly-removed type, a being acknowledged only in relation to an implicitly more important person, a being whose status is based on gender and function. The other ways of referring to Sacagawea, however, are perhaps even more telling because they combine cultural ideas about women with mythic notions about native women. Titles such as "the squar," or "the Indian woman," not only define Sacagawea as a type, but they also subsume her under the general classification of ignoble savagery.

While reflecting and reinforcing collective notions about females in general and about native women in particular, these designations concurrently generate important tensions in the expedition texts. How can the men of the Corps, if they remain immersed in conceptions about savage peoples, explain their attachment to and admiration for Sacagawea when their portrayals seem to claim that she possesses no unique qualities? These writers show no awareness of such tension and therefore offer no answers.

A few journal entries, however, document their inability to contain Sacagawea within that reductive category. Since classification of native peoples as "savages" has been based upon a set of arbitrary characteristics and has hinged on an observer's ability to subsume important differences, to ignore contradictory evidence, and to disregard the individuality of particular natives, it is not surprising that expedition writers cannot sustain such a portrait of Sacagawea. In constant contact with her for a long period, they see her in various circumstances. They

learn about her as a person and discover portions of her past. Considering these factors, the wonder of these journals is not that the writers sometimes depict Sacagawea as an individual but that usually they do not. The bulk of these works thus testify to the power of mythic constructions.

Occasional comments, nevertheless, conflict with collective conceptions and display lapses and omissions in the reasoning and justifications of frontier traditions.[16] These writers essentially present a native woman who is simultaneously inside and outside a classification and meaning. They create an ambiguous character whose contradictions they never acknowledge, much less justify.[17]

The best means of observing these varied and sometimes conflicting portrayals of Sacagawea is a concurrent analysis of expedition documents as they outline a chronology of events involving her.[18] Although an examination of the journals often leads to questions rather than conclusions concerning the men's observations of Sacagawea, these very questions isolate and interrogate critical points in the narratives. Here cultural notions confront an individual native woman and her life. These texts document the encounter.

Sacagawea's first appearance at the expedition campsite at the Mandans, in early November 1805, is noted by Ordway and Clark. Ordway writes, "a french-mans Squaw came to our camp who belong to the Snake nation She came with our Intreperters wife & brought with them 4 buffalow Robes and Gave them to our

officers" (164). In distinguishing between the two native women, Ordway demonstrates more than his ignorance of Mandan marriage tradition. He intimates that a "wife" holds a legitimated position and a "squaw" remains an inferior. His hierarchical vision is informed by Euro-American cultural conceptions. Although he primarily concurs with Ordway, Clark nonetheless writes that both women are Charbonneau's wives, but his comment also bears judgments concerning savage acceptance of polygamy (1: 219). Supplying no names, physical descriptions, or any other details about the women, these writers appear to take more notice of the buffalo robes they receive as gifts than of the people presenting them. Remaining undifferentiated squaws, the women draw no more attention any other native visitors.

On February 11, 1806, Sacagawea gives birth to a son, an event evoking comments from two other expedition men, Gass and Lewis. Although Gass's entry simply states that their interpreter's wife has added to their number (68), Lewis's account is quite long. As he writes,

> about five Oclock this evening one of the wives of Charbono was delivered of a fine boy. it is worthy of remark that this was the first child which this woman had boarn, and as is common in such cases her labour was tedious and the pain violent; Mr. Jessome informed me that he had frequently administered a small portion of the rattle of the rattle-snake, which he assured me had never failed to produce the desired effect, that of hastening the birth of the child . . . I was informed that she had not taken it more than ten minutes before she brought forth. (1: 257-8)

Such lengthy remarks might seem to indicate a special interest in Sacagawea and

her child. They could possibly point to Lewis's acknowledgment of unique characteristics that somehow separate Sacagawea from other savages. Details of this entry negate that speculation, however, by demonstrating that although he is present during her long and difficult labor, Lewis does not remain with her through the delivery. He is "informed" that she has "brought forth." Such actions reveal Lewis's lack of real concern about Sacagawea, and this and a number of subsequent entries indicate that he is instead keenly interested in testing the effectiveness of traditional native medicines and cures, since they might possibly benefit "civilization."

Another issue in this commentary merits examination as well. Lewis writes that Sacagawea's labor is "tedious" and that her pain is "violent." Although not particularly personal in tone, such observations are significant as they appear to contradict Lewis's later assertions that all native women "enjoy" easy deliveries. Has he simply forgotten about Sacagawea's difficulties when he provides generalizations about native births months after her delivery? Or is Sacagawea, in Lewis's estimation, unlike other native women, somehow less "savage" as evidenced by her labor and perhaps other factors he does not mention? Might he believe that she experiences unusual pains because the father of her child is French rather than native? Lewis demonstrates no awareness of such contradictions in his narrative, nor does he acknowledge what they might imply about Sacagawea or about natives.

When leaving the Mandans in early April, Gass and the captains note that Sacagawea is with the company. While Gass simply terms her "a woman" who is going "up the river" with them (73), Lewis lists her as a member of the expedition in his journal and in a letter to Jefferson (1: 284; 7: 319). Not merely including Sacagawea on the roll of the Corps of Discovery, however, Clark also claims she holds an official position. He writes that Charbonneau and his "Indian Squar" will act as "Interpreter and interpretress for the snake Indians"[19] (original emphasis, 1: 278). Clark's field notes additionally mention her role as interpreter as early as November of the previous year (Osgood 174,185). While this discrepancy might seem minor, editors of the Biddle edition are forced to choose one version. They list Sacagawea as a member of the Corps, but one without purpose. Here expedition texts begin to document three versions of Sacagawea's function.

Is she merely a woman tagging along, a member of the Corps with no specified role, or an official interpreter? If the captains have planned that she will interpret, as Clark states in his writings on three occasions, why does Lewis not acknowledge her assignment as well? Does Clark simply afford Sacagawea more responsibility and dignity than her actual position warrants, or does he hold her in higher regard than does Lewis? Could the omission of a designated role imply Lewis's and the Biddle edition editors' refusal to legitimate a function for a woman, much less a native?

On May 14, when a near-disaster threatens the lives of several expedition

members, including Sacagawea, Lewis supplies a detailed account of the incident. He writes that while Charbonneau is at the helm, a puff of wind pushes one of the boats onto its side. As it quickly fills with water, a panicking Charbonneau retains control of the rudder only when another of the men threatens to shoot him. As Lewis notes, "there were two other men beside Charbono on board who could not swim, and who of course must also have perished had the perogue gone down to the bottom" (2: 35). Presenting the same basic details, Clark nonetheless claims that, "the articles which floated out was nearly all caught by the Squar who was in the rear" (2: 37). Again the captains tell different stories about Sacagawea.

Lewis's oversight could relate a number of meanings. First, he might not have been aware of Sacagawea's presence on the boat or her actions. Belying that premise, Lewis's submission two days later praises her response during the crisis, ascribing to her "equal fortitude and resolution, with any person onboard at the time of the accedent" (2: 39). Though Lewis qualifies his commendation, he offers high tribute indeed to the woman whose presence in the craft he has not even mentioned two days before. Second, since Lewis lists only those who cannot swim, his omission might indicate knowledge of Sacagawea's abilities. In the original entry, however, Lewis claims that even though he is a strong swimmer, he realizes he would die in an attempt to rescue the boat because of the treacherous rapids. He certainly cannot believe that Sacagawea would survive.

Considering these factors, why then does he not mention Sacagawea? Is it

simply a matter of perspective as Lewis's attention is diverted to details different from those Clark sees? Does he simply forget, when he writes his comments, that she was on board? Or are the implications more pointed? Does Lewis not consider Sacagawea's potential death as worthy of concern? Would her death, in his opinion, have spelled no significant loss to the mission? Although Lewis later commends Sacagawea and although he writes in a subsequent entry that they name a river after her (2: 52),[20] his original omission seems to document a persistent tone and meaning. He responds to a savage woman of no particular individuality or worth.

During the trip, nothing concerning Sacagawea elicits more notations from the men than her illness. During the first six days, she becomes progressively worse, and all of the diarists except Gass[21] write about the extremity of her case. Ordway, for example, notes on three occasions that she is "verry Sick" (229, 230, 231). In the same period, Clark describes her condition seven times while Lewis comments only twice. This occurrence seems a continuation of the captains' previous responses toward Sacagawea as Clark appears more solicitous of her because he mentions her illness so often.

As Clark and Lewis testify, however, Lewis's notations are limited as a result of his absence from the main party during a portions of that time. While this fact may reinforce the impression that Lewis views Sacagawea as insignificant, because he knows about her illness before he leaves, another interpretation is

possible. Lewis might not have realized the seriousness of the case, since the logs are littered with thousands of declarations of severe illnesses. Supporting that interpretation, both captains report that upon his return Lewis takes over her care and writes about her condition daily. Clark, at that same point, drops the subject.

The numbers of entries submitted about Sacagawea, therefore, point out less than might first seem evident. The content of specific comments prove more revealing. When Sacagawea will take no medicine from him but cooperates with Charbonneau, Clark writes, "if she dies it will be the fault of her husband as I am now convinced" (2: 165). Bound to culturally-mandated images of women, Clark's observations imply that Charbonneau is entirely responsible for Sacagawea, not because of her illness, but because she is his wife. Her status as a "squaw" moreover compounds the depth of her husband's obligation because, as a savage, Sacagawea possesses no sense of what is necessary for her recovery.

Although Lewis's entries largely center on treatment, one comment discloses an estimate of Sacagawea. At a time when both captains remain doubtful about her chances of recovery, Lewis writes,

> this gave me some concern as well for the poor object herself, then with a young child in her arms, as from the consideration of her being our only dependence for a friendly negociation with the Snake Indians on whom we depend for horses to assist us in our portage from the Missouri to the columbia river. (2: 162-3)

The worry, even sympathy, Lewis expresses for Sacagawea and for her nursing baby, who would starve if she were to die, seems at first to counter certain

comments he has previously submitted. This impression is immediately abrogated, however, as Lewis demonstrates that his largest anxiety is the possibility of losing someone who might prove useful in the mission. Complementing his references to their dependence on Sacagawea, Lewis's phrase "poor object" reflects his conception of her as a tool. Ironically enough, these comments not only register his objectification of Sacagawea; they simultaneously acknowledge Sacagawea's unique worth. No longer contained within an undifferentiated category, Lewis's Sacagawea occupies an ambiguous position. She is still savage, but she is also useful because of particular knowledge and skills.

The Biddle edition presents another vision of Sacagawea's illness. On days corresponding to diarists' notations of her infirmity, Biddle writes nothing of Sacagawea. Instead, a later entry explains that she has been ill, remarking that she is now recovering as a result of the treatment Lewis provides (236). By delaying the commentary, the editors thus redirect the focus of the entire incident. Not at all consequential, Sacagawea becomes the vehicle to highlight Lewis's heroism. Biddle and Allen echo the same sentiment as they glorify Clark's heroic efforts to save Sacagawea and the baby during a flash flood. Projecting mythic models of understanding, these notations and many others illustrate the knowledge and goodness of both captains. America's best, they represent "civilization's" guardianship over "savagery."

The expedition men write many commentaries about the coincidence of their

camping on the site of Sacagawea's previous capture. Although Clark remains silent on this issue and while the rank and file restrict their notations to few details, Lewis writes,

> Our present camp is precisely on the spot that the Snake Indians were encamped at the time the Minnetares of the Knife R. first came in sight of them five years since. from hence they retreated about three miles up Jeffersons river and concealed themselves in the woods, the Minnetares pursued, attacked them, killed 4 men 4 women and number of boys, Sah-cah-gar-we-ah o[u]r Indian woman was one of the female prisoners taken at that time. (original emphasis, 2: 283)

Lewis's use of Sacagawea's name might seem to imply a change in perception, an attempt at individuation rather than conflation. His next comments nonetheless negate the effect. As he proclaims, "I cannot discover that she shews any immotion of sorrow in recollecting this event, or of joy in being again restored to her native country; if she has enough to eat and a few trinkets to wear I beleive she would be perfectly content anywhere" (2: 283). When Sacagawea tells the story of her capture, Lewis translates her calm into evaluations consistent with mythic meanings.

Employing a tone similar to that employed in the entry describing the Shoshone deer-eating, Lewis is a removed and obviously-superior interpreter. Excluding her from natural emotions of "civilized' women, as documented by centuries of captivity narratives, Lewis essentially denies that Sacagawea possesses the capacity to feel. Instead he describes a creature who remains contented as long as its simplest needs are met. Living in the present and responding solely to immediate sensory input, this Sacagawea cannot reflect. She feels no pain from her

past, nor can she anticipate the future with hope or desire. This impassive creature embodies concepts of ignoble savagery.

Not long after this appraisal, however, Sacagawea is reunited with her people, and the logs describe a seemingly different woman, one who can no longer be contained by reductive judgments. After Lewis and a few men split from the main party to search for the Shoshones, Clark describes the moment that his group catches up with Lewis and the natives. He notes that Sacagawea "danced for the joyful sight, and She made signs to me that they were her nation" (2: 265). In his analysis of Sacagawea's subsequent arrival at the Shoshone campsite, Lewis adds that "the meeting of those people was really affecting, particularly between Sah-cah-gar-we-ah and an Indian woman, who had been taken prisoner at the same time with her" (2: 361). Offering more detail about a later council meeting than either captain supplies, the Biddle edition states that she

> came into the tent, sat down, and was beginning to interpret, when in the person of Cameahwait she recognised her brother: she instantly jumped up, and ran and embraced him, throwing over him her blanket and weeping profusely; the chief was himself moved, though not in the same degree.[22] (334)

Biddle then adds that even after Sacagawea recovers her composure, she is so overcome by emotion and a profusion of tears that the captains postpone the meeting (335).

Is this the same woman Lewis has described not more than two weeks earlier? How do such characterizations correspond with previous assessments?

Reports of this suddenly dancing and joyful woman who greets her childhood friend with "affecting" warmth and who loses control at her reunion with her brother substantiate that Sacagawea indeed possesses strong emotions and is capable of remembering and reflecting upon her past. They also imply that she responds to the present through the context of that past as well as the future. These portrayals display evidence that contradicts common cultural notions about unemotional, irrational squaws. Although not claiming that Sacagawea is civilized, they do nonetheless distinguish her from undifferentiated "savagery."

During their stay with the Shoshones and the long trip to the coast, the men mention Sacagawea numerous times. Most often focusing on tasks she performs, such entries domesticate Sacagawea. Lewis, for example, notes that she mends moccasins and boils tallow from elk shank bones. None of the commentaries address her feelings or motivations, and rarely do they exhibit the men's responses to her activities. Clark's writings from late November through late December exemplify this tendency. In three entries, for instance, Clark describes Lewis's and his own efforts to barter for a robe made of sea otter skins. As he claims, they finally "precured it for a belt of blue beed which the Squar-wife of our interpreter Shabono wore around her waste" (3: 238, cf. 237,239). Nowhere does Clark state how they secure the belt from Sacagawea, nor does he address her feelings about the transaction. Do they simply take it from her, an action codifying their disregard for her property and her opinions? Or does she surrender it willingly, a

gesture nullifying Lewis's comments equating her contentment with trinkets?

A little more than a week later, Clark describes another interaction with Sacagawea in the same way. As he states,

> The squar gave me a piece of bread made of flour which She had reserved for her child and carefully Kept untill this time, which has unfortunately got wet, and a little sour. this bread I eate with great satisfaction, it being the only mouthfull I had tasted for Several months past. (3: 259-60)

Although Clark expresses his gratitude for the bread, despite its faults, he does not verbalize his appreciation of his benefactor. He is not alone in his methods of discussing her activities; all the men describe what Sacagawea accomplishes without communicating real regard for her during that winter on the coast. Since the men, for the most part, include her within the category of savagery, do they simply accept her labors as natural to her condition? Has she become the group's squaw, expected to fulfill tasks they would not assume a white woman would discharge? Their universal silence on this matter hints at several possibilities. In their minds, Sacagawea may possess no emotions, as Lewis previously claims. Even if they do not deny her capacity to feel, the men may still perceive no obligation to understand, or at least to write about, those emotions. In either case, Sacagawea clearly remains in the background, a person whose existence is defined by her functionality within the context of their mission. As in Lewis's passage during her illness, Sacagawea is a tool.

As can be seen in these entries, Lewis and Clark, as well as the other men,

portray Sacagawea as unobtrusive and cooperative in a variety of ways throughout the journey. They acknowledge that she even anticipates individual and group needs and tries to fulfill them. In one case, however, both captains document that Sacagawea submits a request. When the captains do not initially include Sacagawea in a side trip, Lewis writes,

> the Indian woman was very impo[r]tunate to be permited to go, and was therefore indulged; she observed that she had travelled a long way with us to see the great waters, and that now that monstrous fish was also to be seen, she thought it very hard she could not be permitted to see either (she had never yet been to the Ocean). (3: 315)

Clark's entry mimes this passage nearly word for word. Since the captains occasionally shared each other's notations in order to fulfill their obligation to keep a daily record, there is no way of knowing which one originated the commentary. This entry nonetheless supplies a picture of a superior male. He condescends, "indulging" a subordinate woman's desires.

The diarist also submits one of the most important evaluations concerning Sacagawea. Not simply responding to sensory impulses, not denied the capacity to feel, this Sacagawea vehemently argues for her rights. She demonstrates that she has needs beyond those which food or trinkets can fulfill. This woman, in addition, not only persists in her argument, but she also uses the logic of past accomplishments to justify her demands. Although neither Lewis nor Clark shows awareness of these conflicting meanings, such remarks present significant slippages from cultural conceptions of the savage squaw.

During the return trip, after the expedition has split into two groups, Ordway and Clark write that Sacagawea points out a passage through the mountains (347; 5: 250), and a week later, Clark describes Sacagawea as "The indian woman who has been of great service to me as a pilot through this country" (5: 260). Although scholars have argued over the meaning and import of these notations, such entries are not inconsistent with the bulk of the portrayals offered about Sacagawea. She remains the "Indian woman" or "Interpreter's wife" in each reference, a type whose familiarity with the territory, whose kinship with nature, supplements rather than contradicts notions of savagery.

This pattern of response is abruptly reversed in Clark's last notation about Sacagawea, however. After having paid Charbonneau his earnings, Clark remarks that they have taken leave of the "interpreter and interprete[s]s" (5: 344). Although he continues to acknowledge one of her roles, Clark does not expound upon his perceptions of Sacagawea until two days later when he pens a letter to Charbonneau. Among other things, Clark asserts that "your woman who accompanied you that long dangerous and fatigueing rout to the Pacific Ocean and back diserved a greater award for her attention and Services on that rout than we had in our power to give at the Mandans" (7: 329). Echoing Clark's sentiments, the Biddle Edition notes that Sacagawea was "particularly useful among the Shoshones. Indeed she has borne with a patience truly admirable, the fatigues of so long a route, uncumbered with the charge of an infant, who is even now only 19

months old" (780). These last two passages mark a significant departure from many of the previous assessments concerning Sacagawea.

Rather than simply codifying their expectations, Clark and the editors note the atypicality of her service. Although still described in terms of her utility to the mission, this unique woman compels praise. She is a figure of strength and even nobility. How can such appraisals be understood in comparison to the preponderance of evidence that all of the men assign her to the undifferentiated ranks of savagery? Is Clark merely voicing sentiment he does not feel, or has Sacagawea in those eighteen months demonstrated her individual, if not civilized, character?

The men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, those writers illustrating their immersion in mythic conceptions throughout their journals, thus offer what may be the only written materials documenting Sacagawea's existence.[23] Although he discusses the dilemma of depicting Pocahontas, Leitch Wright could be writing about Sacagawea when he notes that "it is not possible to guess her thoughts accurately," since there exists "not a single line revealing her innermost feelings, forcing us to rely on the perceptions" of white men (71). Offering no physical descriptions nor attempting to probe her motivations, these writers reveal a great deal about themselves and their mythic traditions as they almost completely delimit her through American conceptions of savagery. They portray her as a woman who, for the most part, requires no acknowledgment. She fulfills many tasks but

deserves little recognition.

As seen in a few incidents, some of the original documents also provide glimpses of an occasional breakdown in such totalizing perceptions. Never proclaiming her as part of civilization, these sporadic notations nonetheless allow Sacagawea certain unique qualities, a denial that she is indistinguishable from other savages. Although not an Indian princess nor an emblem of the rectitude of manifest destiny, neither is this Sacagawea completely ignoble.

In spite of these slippages, the men who originally interpret Sacagawea for the world, both the journals writers and the earliest editors, seem to have noted her efforts without clearly interpreting them as extraordinary, much less heroic. Some scholars and writers, such as Eva Emery Dye and Grace Raymond Hebard, have decried the delay in Sacagawea's renown. That lag, however, was probably unavoidable. First, early nineteenth-century America was not yet ready for a heroine from among the savage aboriginals of the western frontier, especially since those were the very groups resisting the spread of Euro-American settlements at that time. Moreover, the only version of the story available to the public, the Biddle edition, certainly inhibited Sacagawea's emergence as a legendary heroine as it omitted details and resolved ambiguities in her portrayals.

No one publicly recognized Sacagawea's cultural importance until near the turn of the twentieth century, when editors and writers returned to the polyvocal originals. Such texts revisited the complex and sometimes conflicting interpreta-

tions of the journey, of their actions, and of the people they encountered. Only then did Elliott Coues and Eva Emery Dye and others demonstrate an awareness of Sacagawea's connection to concepts of manifest destiny and her usefulness in illustrating its merit. Only then was Sacagawea propelled into legend.

From that period to the present, Sacagawea's character and actions, as initially related by the germinal texts, have offered challenges to later interpreters. She certainly could not become an American heroine if she remained primarily savage. The original texts, nevertheless, enumerate the many times Sacagawea helps the men and the expedition, in large ways and small. At times they also seem to question her status as an ignoble savage. These first portrayals, therefore, allow subsequent writers to interpret Sacagawea as the noble Indian princess.

In the next chapter, I analyze the birth and early proliferation of the Sacagawea legend in the progressive era. During this period, she became an emblem of manifest destiny, her life and actions signifying the progress of civilization. Malleable enough to serve several purposes, her narrative also encompassed considerations other than those comprising frontier traditions at a time when America began reexamining some of its cultural assumptions. During that era, the figure of Sacagawea also commented on the position and role of women in American society. The Indian princess who fulfilled multiple purposes in the changing American society during the progressive era, Sacagawea was at once embraced by popular culture. She was dubbed a legendary American heroine.

CHAPTER 3

THE BIRTH AND PROLIFERATION OF THE SACAGAWEA LEGEND: THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

In 1804-6, the journal-keepers of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Joseph Whitehouse, John Ordway, and Patrick Gass, related their stories of America's epic journey into the wilderness. Within the diaries, these men offered generalizations and details about the sole native woman accompanying the Corps of Discovery. Predominantly interpreting her essence and behaviors in terms of ignoble savagery, as informed by a nexus of historical, cultural, and mythic realities, expedition writers placed Sacagawea in the background of their tales. Since detailed portraits of the "squaw" were not necessary to solidify collective understandings of the expedition, early editors of the expedition manuscripts followed the example of the original writers in their portrayals of Sacagawea. Her name, therefore, remained relatively unknown for nearly a century.

By the early twentieth century, researchers, including Grace Raymond Hebard, Maria Edge, and L.T. Scott, in "Pilot of First White Men to Cross the American Continent," "Sacagawea, A Wonderful Woman," and Sacajawea: The Unsung Heroine of Montana: 1805-1806, respectively, reported their regret that such an important "American" heroine was "neglected" for so long. Since original expedition journals offered rather vague and open-ended portraits of the woman

participating in the trip, subsequent creators have been able to redefine Sacagawea's character and reinterpret the meanings of her actions. During the progressive era, for example, writers, painters, and sculptors transformed Sacagawea from a savage squaw into an American heroine. They did so by turning to another image made available through frontier myths. Inverting previous interpretations of Sacagawea, sloughing off assessments of her ignoble savagery, they defined her as the noble helper of white men in the wilderness.

Rather than presenting a "squar" whose efforts were of little significance during the expedition, several historians of this period highlighted Sacagawea's helpfulness and cooperation. Based on these activities, Sacagawea became an heroic figure of the American West. Others expanded on these initial assertions by declaring that Sacagawea was an Indian princess. Fulfilling her purpose as the noble savage of frontier traditions, she demonstrated her innate wisdom and knowledge by enthusiastically escorting civilization into America's western wilderness. In speeches and scholarly articles, in fiction and in bronze, progressive era researchers and artists depicted Sacagawea as the Indian princess of the trans-Mississippi West. A symbol of the rectitude of manifest destiny, Sacagawea helped to explain Euro-American exploration of western frontiers and to justify the subsequent transformation of the wilderness into civilization. Progressive era texts thus ushered her into legend.

While embracing the mythic image of the Indian princess in their works,

certain writers also employed images of Sacagawea for an additional purpose during this period. Engaged in a re-examination of women's roles in American society, immersed in the effort to win suffrage, some writers and speakers characterized Sacagawea as a prototype for the modern, emancipated woman. Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, Eva Emery Dye, and others invoked Sacagawea's name and story to inspire American women to brave the "wilderness." Rather than blazing trails through actual mountains, such women were exhorted to venture into social and political arenas and to take their rightful places in American culture.

Beginning in the 1890s, new editions of the Lewis and Clark journals, historical novels, scholarly and popular articles, speeches, and public statues transformed Sacagawea from the savage squaw into an Indian princess and American heroine.[1] In this chapter, I analyze three progressive era texts that reinterpreted Sacagawea and her contributions to the expedition. The first to declare that Sacagawea was an American heroine, Elliott Coues published History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark, To the Sources of the Missouri River, Thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean, performed during the Years 1804-5-6, by Order of the Government of the United States in 1893. In this edition of the Lewis and Clark journals, Coues highlights Sacagawea's unique qualities and contributions in chapter and page headings and in footnotes.

Eva Emery Dye produced The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and

Clark in 1902 after she had read extant versions of the expedition journals, including the original Lewis and Clark scripts and the Coues edition. Penning the most significant written work concerned with Sacagawea during the period, Dye promotes suffrage as Sacagawea becomes a model for independent American women. Dye, in addition, illustrates the correlation between this Indian princess's life and actions and the glorious settlement of America's western lands.

After the publication of The Conquest, a variety of texts reiterated the Sacagawea story. They included Leonard Crunelle's Bird Woman, a statue dedicated in North Dakota in 1910. Continuously occupying a prominent place in front of the Bismarck capitol building since its unveiling, Crunelle's work was the only sculpture on the grounds until the late 1980s. Typical of other Sacagawea texts of the period, this larger-than-life bronze projects Sacagawea as a heroine based on her support of America's mission into the wilderness.

These progressive era texts and others introduced new and culturally useful perceptions of the native woman that accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Pacific Ocean and back. In doing so, they not only established an enduring pattern of portrayal; they also initiated and proliferated the Sacagawea legend. Since these works reflected collective conceptions of savagery and civilization and the mission on the continent, especially as they intersected with images of Indian princesses, I first examine changes and continuities that unfolded in frontier traditions from the early nineteenth century until America entered World War I.

According to Berger and Luckmann, myths legitimate socially-constructed, intersubjective realities, passing cultural knowledge and collective understandings to new generations. Although this model seems to imply a complete transference of information, Doty in Mythography and Eliade in Myth and Reality concur that the transmittal of such meanings is by no means perfect. While primary and implicit myths delineate the only natural way of perceiving the world, adjustments in such understandings can occur as meaningful personal visions become important to the corporate body or as social changes and/or historical events make new meanings possible. As disruptions in cultural consensus occur and as myths no longer maintain cogency, secondary legitimations often arise to preserve previous conceptions of the world.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, primary and implicit frontier myths required little more than illustration and reiteration among Euro-Americans. From the earliest colonial period into the beginning of the nineteenth century, captivity and war narratives, sermons, and histories, including the Lewis and Clark Expedition scripts, projected images that reflected and reinforced America's frontier myths. From the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries, however, the totalizing logic of frontier traditions no longer sustained such implicit belief. Americans faced conflicting cultural realities, including the Civil War and the urbanization of large portions of the East. In "Examination of Stereotyping," Ward Churchill, Mary Anne Hill, and Norbert Hill assert that "as the empire began

to stretch its legs for the long haul of consolidation . . . the history of conquest needed popular revision if it were to be utilized as a matter of national pride" (37). Describing how America reconciled its history with the story of the sacred mission and the triumph of civilization over savagery during this period, these critics outline the process by which cultural texts legitimated frontier myths.

From the early 1800s until World War I, an array of American works reflected and reinforced images associated with frontier traditions. In Savagism and Civilization, Roy Harvey Pearce traces how novels, speeches, travel journals, and sculptures systematized notions of savagism after 1825.[2] By the late 1800s, argues Emily Rosenburg in Spreading the American Dream, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and other popular texts confirmed traditional belief systems concerning savagery and mission.[3] Frederick Hoxie and Robert Trennert further claim in A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920 and "Popular Imagery and the American Indian: A Centennial View," respectively, that the 1876 "Century of Progress" exposition at Philadelphia and the 1893 Columbian Exhibition at Chicago also projected collective conceptions about native savagery. These popular texts and others[4] did not question past actions and motivations on the continent. Instead they stressed and rehearsed the inevitability of the removal or obliteration of native populations in order to clear the wilderness for civilized settlement. Americans thus received reassurances of the legitimacy of frontier traditions during this period.

As in earlier centuries, captivity narratives were important cultural texts during the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. Appealing to a wide audience, these works documented the "reality" of the Euro-American frontier experiences. In addition, they defended the mission to convert the wilderness and delineated native savagery. Three representative captivity narratives of this period, Abbie Gardiner-Sharp's History of the Spirit Lake Massacre and Captivity of Miss Abbie Gardiner, Fanny Kelly's My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians, and F.M. Buckelew's Buckelew: The Indian Captive or the Life Story of F.M. Buckelew While Captive among the Lipan Indians in the Western Wilds of Frontier Texas, as Related by Himself,[5] vividly illustrated and substantiated collective frontier conceptions.

Since novelists had begun to employ captivity plots by that time, most nineteenth-century captivity narratives employed various means to validate their stories in order to assure American audiences of the "reality" of their experiences. In his introduction to the Buckelew captivity, for example, S.E. Banta asserts that the tale is "simple and absolutely true," not a blend of fact and fiction (6). Captivity writers of this era also appended affidavits of authenticity to their narratives to eliminate skepticism about the truths they related. Abbie Gardiner-Sharp, for example, provides testimonials from such distinguished people as B. R. Sherman and C. C. Carpenter, both past governors of Iowa (367-372). Fifteen pages of affidavits from Army officers attested to Fanny Kelly's account (270-285).

While confirming the "realities" of Euro-American captive experiences in the wilderness, nineteenth-century captivities also verified certain frontier conceptions. According to such stories, settlers fulfilled America's destiny on the frontier. Offering no reasonable explanation for gratuitous attacks on innocent Euro-American populations, captivities depicted pioneers defending the land against natives who threatened to return it to a primitive state. Banta proclaims in the preface to the Buckelew captivity that "No danger was too great, no war-path too bloody, no savage ambush too dangerous, no call to duty so hazardous, and no task so insurmountable as to check their [Texas pioneers'] magnificent strides of national development" (1). Other passages justified the transformation of the frontier. The narratives testified, for example, that the land had benefitted from the arrival of civilized occupants. As Banta further asserts, Texas pioneers had secured "much of the fertile portion of the State, then undeveloped and waiting for the hand of industry" (2,7). Essentially echoing vacuum domicilium, Banta verifies that the frontier had languished before civilized pioneers allowed it to flower.

Of the "realities" recounted in nineteenth-century captivity narratives, native savagism was possibly the most important and definitely the most often reinforced concept. As Buckelew states, an old Lipan squaw whips him and then forces him to run the gauntlet (67). Moments later, according to his story, another old woman "began leisurely to draw the knife back and forth across my throat" (69). Fanny Kelly not only relates the savagery of the Sioux ambush of her wagon train; she

also provides ghoulish, graphic details of the subsequent murder of most of the travellers. Although she is spared from the slaughter, Kelly is beaten, starved, and tortured whenever the whim strikes her savage captors (110, 124, 203). A witness to the murder of Mrs. Fletcher, Kelly further delineates how native men first drown the victim and then shoot her full of holes. They literally empty their guns into the body (117). Summoning pity for pioneer victims as well as hatred for their oppressors, nineteenth-century captivities thus illustrated native savagery.

Although Abbie Gardiner-Sharp's Oglala captors do not torture her, she refers to their savagism many times. When describing the return of a raiding party, for instance, Gardiner-Sharp notes the absurdity of the squaws' struggles to put on dresses taken from pioneer homes. She claims that such women could not possibly fit into "civilized" clothes. As the captive asserts, "they were too broad-shouldered, and brawny, to get the waist into position, or fasten it . . . They were altogether too much the shape of a barrel, to wear the dresses of white women" (149-150). Gardiner-Sharp thus declares that squaws are not civilized. More importantly, she indicate that they could never become civilized since savagery is an inborn characteristic. Although "squaws" might be trained to put on a "proper" dress, civilization remains closed to them forever as physical characteristics serve as a mirror to innate savagism.

Captivity narratives and a profusion of other American works produced during the nineteenth century, therefore, reflected and legitimated essential elements

of frontier mythic traditions. Proclaiming the rectitude of the mission to convert the wilderness, maintaining the bifurcation of savagery and civilization, and attesting to the "truth" of frontier experiences, these texts demonstrated that Euro-American settlers rightfully supplanted natives on the frontier. As Reginald Horsman argues in "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," scientific theories developed in the 1840s conjoined with cultural texts to explain savagism and to justify territorial expansion. Concurring with Horsman, Bernard W. Sheehan asserts in Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian that these concepts were translated into federal policy and government action. The removal of indigenous peoples to territories west of the Mississippi, rapid continental expansion, wars against Plains natives, and the formulation and enactment of the Dawes Act were among the most important events that reflected mythic traditions during this period.

Beginning in the 1820s, significant numbers of Euro-American pioneers intruded on native territories in the Old Northwest and the South. As tensions increased in these "wilderness" areas, important U.S. policies centered on moving indigenous groups, including the Sauks, Foxes, Cherokees, Seminoles, and other nations, to areas west of the Mississippi. Removals guaranteed that aboriginal peoples would no longer hinder American "progress." Former native lands would be open to civilized agriculture. Since indigenous peoples of the Old Northwest survived on mixed economies that featured hunting and since they also actively

resisted Euro-American encroachments, U.S. expropriation of these tribal lands created little public commentary or controversy. Mythic projections of the conversion of wilderness into civilization, in effect, explained the battles, treaties, and land cessions of the Old Northwest.

Subsequent removals of specific southern nations, on the contrary, created considerable public dissention in northeastern states. As Cherokee leaders resisted removal, for instance, Americans learned through newspapers and magazines that southern aboriginal economies, including those of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, and Creek nations, relied on agriculture. They also discovered that Cherokees, in an effort to maintain their homelands, had begun to adopt certain components of Euro-American lifestyles. Melding traditional native customs with strategies employed by pioneers, Cherokees cultivated grains, corn, beans; raised livestock; and lived in cabins nearly identical to those of Euro-American settlers. These images and "realities" conflicted with declarations that such peoples were "savage."

Furthermore, as a result of a law suit filed by Cherokee leaders, Chief Justice John Marshall declared, in 1832, that Cherokee sovereignty could not be exterminated nor could their lands be confiscated. President Andrew Jackson, whose reputation had been established as an "Indian fighter" in previous wars against native groups, refused to enforce the ruling. Verbalizing the primacy of civilization over savagery throughout the removal controversy, Jackson spoke

directly to the Cherokees in 1835. As he stated, "Circumstances . . . render it impossible that you can flourish in the midst of a civilized community" (Nash et al. 440). According to Ronald Takaki's Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America, Jackson tapped the "metaphysics of civilization" to protect America's moral character while simultaneously justifying pioneer claims to aboriginal lands (107). Although many American citizens grappled privately and publicly with conflicting realities that arose from these removals, the invocation of the frontier myth nonetheless retained power to motivate and vindicate such actions on a national scale.

Even before the removals were concluded in 1842, vanguards of Euro-American pioneers proceeded across the Mississippi, demonstrating that government policies had not satisfied settlers' desire for land. As American territorial sovereignty expanded rapidly in the West, John L. O'Sullivan coined the phrase "Manifest Destiny."[6] The expression explained that since America was divinely ordained, the nation had the right to secure the entire continent. No longer would the sacred territory be limited to east of the Mississippi, for God presented Americans with the obligation to expand the consecrated area. Employing such reasoning and rhetoric, political leaders rationalized U.S. claims to western territories and justified the wars, diplomacy, and treaties that America embraced and enacted from the 1840s through the 1860s.

Euro-American farmers, ranchers, and miners began migrating to the Great

Plains during this same period. Despite a relatively peaceful pattern of early settlement, hostilities erupted in the 1860s. Thereafter, for nearly thirty years, U.S. troops sought to quell Plains native uprisings and to restrict the Dakota, Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapahoes, Modocs, Nez Perces, Apaches, and other aboriginal nations to reservations. Unlike the southern removals, U.S. policies toward these essentially nomadic natives created little, if any, public discord. Instead, Euro-American reports of frontier atrocities, perpetrated by such savages, reinforced mythic concepts of their continuing threat to civilization. These stories also augmented the contention that the continent must be secured.

Construed as contemporary re-enactments of colonial beginnings, descriptions of armed hostilities produced intense emotional response among populations on the frontiers and in the East. Newspapers throughout the country, for example, declared that General George Armstrong Custer was a hero after he led his troops to slaughter against confederated Plains groups in 1876. Perhaps ignorant of Custer's imprudent plans and their reckless execution, reporters and novelists based their interpretations of the event on a common belief in the mission to convert the wilderness and in the unequivocal heroism of those who attempted to achieve that goal. Events at Wounded Knee provide another illustration of such evaluations. After a detachment of the U.S. Army massacred more than two hundred unarmed Lakota men, women, and children in 1890, reporters and historians described this as an unfortunate "incident." As these writers claimed, the

Lakota had posed a threat to civilization by persisting in the savage Ghost Dance, and the Army had been justified in its actions.

During the same period that the U.S. Army pursued the last Plains natives and placed them on reservations, progressivism sprang up in the East in response to profound social and economic changes in America. According to Arthur Link and Richard McCormick in Progressivism, Richard Hofstadter in The Age of Reform, and Robert H. Wiebe in The Search for Order: 1877-1920, urban growth, the birth of corporations, expanded transportation systems, an unprecedented influx of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, and many other concerns confronted the nation in the 1880s. Tapping into the energy and commitment generated from the abolitionist campaign, various reform groups tackled these new problems. Although some researchers have typified such groups as radical, Hofstadter claims that reformers shared common cultural understandings and attempted "to realize familiar and traditional ideals under novel circumstances" (213).

Euro-Americans concerned with native populations and U.S. Indian policy, for example, coalesced into a relatively unified group during the progressive period. Meeting at Lake Mohonk, New York, in 1883 and each year thereafter for several decades, members the Women's National Indian Association, the Indian Rights Association, the Board of Indian Commissioners, and other organizations attempted to resolve the "Indian problem." Like other reformers of the period, this group embraced common cultural conceptions. Reflecting frontier notions, they sought to

transform natives into Americans and to convert reservations, which they saw as enclaves of savagism, into agrarian models of civilization. Philanthropists, anthropologists, and politicians achieved nearly-complete consensus in formulating plans to raise these "primitives" to a level at which they could assimilate into the general population.

Indian reformers' most critical program was the Dawes Act of 1887.[7] Also known as the General Allotment Act, this piece of legislation was to serve as a panacea to the problem of savagery. After reservations had been divided into individual farm allotments, tribal members could no longer rely on communal forms which had held them back from "civilized" life. According to this plan, individual ownership would infuse aboriginals with a sense of industry and propel them toward a goal of accumulation, necessary first steps toward becoming American citizens.

Not only validating concepts of savagery and civilization, the Dawes Act also reflected mythic notions of mission as it legalized the opening of "surplus" tribal lands to Euro-American homesteaders and land speculators. It also enabled Euro-Americans to purchase allotments from natives as soon as they had received patents. Compatible with essential concepts of frontier mythic traditions, the Dawes Act and its lease policies thus legitimated long-term goals of transforming savages into civilized farmers while it concurrently enacted short-term aims of expediting the confiscation of millions of acres of indigenous land.

During the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries, therefore, as

indicated by events transpiring on the continent and policies embraced by the U.S. government, in addition to images and ideas embodied in cultural texts, frontier traditions sustained belief and conviction in Euro-American populations. Some studies, however, suggest that such myths did not maintain compelling persuasiveness during this period. As Harold P. Simonson writes in his introduction to Frederick Jackson Turner's The Significance of the Frontier in American History, by the beginning of the twentieth century, wide populations had begun to question assumptions and meanings that had previously defined America. As they read such works as Lincoln Steffen's The Shame of the Cities and Upton Sinclair's The Jungle (14-15), these audiences examined the bases of American "civilization."

Other texts countered such questions, however. Frederick Jackson Turner, for instance, embraced and legitimated frontier mythic traditions. In The Frontier in American History, a work receiving considerable acclaim and acceptance by the turn of the twentieth century, Turner asserted that the "free land" of frontiers and pioneering experience shaped American ideology, institutions, and history. He claimed that these same factors also produced America's unique greatness. Although frontier myths might not have been uniformly compelling nor comprehensively convincing to all Americans from the turn of the nineteenth century until World War I, such traditions continued to inform wide and varied populations.

During this period, many historians also continued to proclaim that the

Lewis and Clark Expedition constituted America's most important exploration of the wilderness. Editions of the expedition journals, in addition, provided the best means of retelling that mythic experience, as well as recounting the progress that had been accomplished on the frontier. Combining an interest in natural history with his travels to expedition sites, Army surgeon Elliott Coues published an annotated edition of the journals in 1892-3. The most important version of those scripts to that point, Coues's text is essentially an aggregate of the Biddle edition and the original texts. Like editors Biddle and Allen, Coues collapses the polyvocal original journals into the collective "we." In footnotes and appendices, however, Coues incorporates selected quotations from the original scripts. He also provides supplementary scientific data, in addition to his own evaluations of various people that are delineated in expedition texts.

Like Lewis and Clark and the Indian reformers of his own period, Coues reflects important frontier concepts in his work. Although the dedication, "To the People of the Great West," might not imply a reductive approach to the composition of such "People" or the constitution of the "Great West," Coues does not obscure his meaning for long. Immediately following the general dedication, Coues writes:

> Jefferson gave you the country. Lewis and Clark showed you the way. The rest is your own course of empire. Honor the statesman who foresaw your West. Honor the brave men who first saw your West. May the memory of their glorious achievement be your precious heritage! Accept from my heart this undying record of the beginning of all your greatness. (np)

Not the least ambiguous in these lines, Coues cajoles the "you" and "your" of the passage, the Euro-American pioneers, to fulfill the destiny that Jefferson and the captains had made possible. Coues thus embraces the concept of mission and attests to the previous "emptiness" of the land. Seemingly unaware of any other peoples who might have had a "precious heritage" in the West and apparently oblivious to endings that might have accompanied "the beginning of all your greatness," Coues depicts the West as a vacuum that welcomes civilized settlement.

In spite of the lack of commentary about native peoples in the dedication, Coues carefully delineates the names of indigenous groups and describes their characteristics in footnotes and appendices throughout his text. Coues, nonetheless, also validates concepts of savagism. In an appendix entitled, "Essay on an Indian Policy," for example, Coues states that for too long aboriginals have "wage[d] war on the defenseless inhabitants of the frontier" (3: 1220). He adds that the only means of civilizing such savages is to force them to understand the benefits of agriculture (3: 1236-7). Undoubtedly referring to the Dawes Act, Coues then suggests that a certain plan was about to consummate "philanthropic views toward those wretched people of America, as well as to secure to the citizens of the United States all those advantages which ought of right exclusively to accrue to them" (3: 1239-41). Through such commentary, Coues reveals his acceptance of the savagery/civilization dichotomy and his devotion to the conquest of the continent.

Coues also offers considerable commentary on Sacagawea. Although he

refers to her as "the wife of Charbonneau," the "squaw," and "our interpreter's wife," as the original journalists had done previously, Coues consistently accompanies such references with her name in brackets. Unlike the original texts, Coues thus personalizes Sacagawea throughout his work. No longer is she an undifferentiated, savage squaw or a being whose existence is understood solely by virtue of her relationship to another person. Sacagawea has a name. Coues furthermore declares that Sacagawea was a heroic contributor to America's epic journey. He asserts, for example, that "Excepting Lewis, Clark, Gass, and Shannon, we know next to nothing more than the names of the men and woman [Sacajawea] who accomplished an immortal purpose" (1: 253; original interpolation). As seen in this passage and others, Coues actually focuses attention on Sacagawea. He does so throughout the work by featuring her in chapter and page headings and by stressing her actions in a number of footnotes.

Coues first mentions Sacagawea by comparing her to her husband. Delineating Toussaint Charbonneau's initial appearance at Fort Mandan just after the arrival of the Corps, Coues writes that he was "of no particular merit . . . in comparison with his wife Sacajawea, the wonderful 'Bird-woman,' who contributed a full man's share to the success of the expedition, besides taking care of her baby" (1:190). Sacagawea has not yet arrived at the expedition campsite, nor has she met the captains or performed any services for them. Coues nonetheless uses the occasion of Charbonneau's appearance to praise Sacagawea. Asserting that she

"contributed a full man's share" during the trip, he essentially argues that Sacagawea was equal to the expedition men, except perhaps the captains. By stressing the additional burden of the baby, Coues in some ways delineates a woman who surpasses all of the men around her. Even before she appears in the narrative, Coues establishes that Sacagawea is a woman and a mother, proclaims that she is "wonderful," and affirms that assessment on the basis of services she renders. By summing her up in such a positive way, he invites readers to follow Sacagawea's story as it unfolds in conjunction with the tale of the journey.

Coues features Sacagawea next when he delineates the events of February 11, 1806. Although he paraphrases Lewis's entry, Coues offers his own feelings as well. In a departure from Lewis's text, for instance, Coues refers to Sacagawea as "brave" when she endures a difficult labor. In order to direct attention to Sacagawea in this entry, Coues employs the page heading, "Birth of Sacajawea's Infant." Coues additionally argues in an accompanying footnote that "This little volunteer recruit joined the Expedition, and was brought back safe from the Pacific coast by one of the best of mothers" (1: 232). Although both the page heading and footnote imply that Baptiste is the locus of the event, Coues actually emphasizes Sacagawea and her actions. He does so in the first instance by employing Sacagawea's name while merely referring to her progeny as "infant." In the second case, although the baby is deemed a "little volunteer," Coues makes it clear, through the use of the passive voice, that "the best of mothers" performed the

important action. Sacagawea, not her child, was the significant "recruit" of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Coues once again employs Lewis's journal for his narrative of the squall that nearly overturned one of the expedition boats. Like Lewis, he reports Charbonneau's poor steersmanship but does not allude to Sacagawea's role in the incident. In a sense, Coues recreates Lewis's seeming disregard for Sacagawea since he does not appear to consider her potential death significant enough to mention. In a footnote to that entry, nonetheless, Coues immediately provides a portion of one of Lewis's later notations. By juxtaposing the omission of Sacagawea's presence with commentary that commends Sacagawea's "fortitude" and "resolution" in rescuing critical articles during the crisis, Coues mediates the impression of his indifference to her. He furthermore argues in an adjoining footnote that "Sacajawea's conduct on this occasion is to be admired in itself, as well as by contrast with that of her craven French apology for a male" (1: 311). Coues also fortifies the sense of his respect for Sacagawea in the page heading, "The Hero and the Heroine." While obviously employing sarcasm in reference to Charbonneau, Coues assesses Sacagawea's heroism with real admiration.

As he compares Sacagawea with her husband on this and other occasions, Coues embraces a combination of national, racial, and gender issues. He, for example, dwells on the fact that Charbonneau is French and sets up a causal relationship between nationality and behavior. As far as Coues is concerned, this

Frenchman, because he is French, is a laggard and a coward. Charbonneau, according to such thinking, served the captains badly because the French are not real men and because they could not truly support a mission that would eventually undermine their country's power in the region.[8] Charbonneau serves as a foil to Sacagawea. Her reported bravery contrasts sharply with her husband's cowardice. By emphasizing Sacagawea's sex and motherhood, moreover, Coues also illustrates that her deeds are unexpected and, therefore, even more impressive. By virtue of such courageous service, Sacagawea demonstrates her devotion to the cause. She is entitled to be declared an American heroine.

In several other instances, Coues offers page and chapter headings that draw special attention to Sacagawea. Such examples include "Sacajawea Ill--Sulphur Spring" (2: 377), "Affecting interview of Sacajawea with her long-lost brother, whom she recognizes in the Shoshone chief Cameahwait" (2: 508), and "Sacajawea Recognizes Cameahwait" (2: 509). In each case, Coues emphasizes that Sacagawea was an important person. In other instances, however, Coues does more than identify Sacagawea as an individual worthy of special attention. He also offers examples of her wisdom and helpfulness. As he recounts how Sacagawea instructed Clark to take a southerly gap in the mountains on the return trip, Coues writes in a footnote that Clark was very sensible to follow the course "of the remarkable little woman, who never failed to rise to the occasion, even when it was mountains high." In the next footnote, Coues adds that "Sacajawea's knowledge was certainly

extensive and accurate" (3: 1132). Not the least reticent to credit Sacagawea with meaningful expertise, Coues illustrates her usefulness to the mission and praises her accomplishments. He thus augments his claims of Sacagawea's heroism.

Coues's last commentary about Sacagawea describes the Corps' leave-taking at Fort Mandan. In a footnote, Coues expresses dismay that although the captains compensated Charbonneau, they failed to remunerate Sacagawea. As he asserts, "It could hardly have occurred to anyone, in 1806, that Chaboneau's wife had earned her wages too" (3: 1184-1185, original emphasis). In this commentary, the only time he does so in the entire text, Coues fails to refer to Sacagawea by name. Only here is she just a "wife." Adopting the original scripts' reductive, relational reference while also employing an emphatic "her," Coues, in effect, underscores the irony of this injustice. Moreover, as he conjoins this footnote with the page heading, "The Debt to Sacajawea Not Discharged," Coues further accentuates the error. Although he more or less excuses Lewis and Clark for their oversight, based on the apparent universal ignorance of those times, Coues registers his disappointment that America had failed to recognize or compensate Sacagawea's contributions.

Elliott Coues therefore offers America another edition of the expedition journals. In doing so, he illustrates and justifies frontier traditions and is the first to strive to "discharge" the "debt" to this American heroine. As he combines such goals, however, certain tensions arise in this text. Coues's comparisons between

Sacagawea and Charbonneau, for example, create a number of questions. If Charbonneau is despicable because of his nationality, how can Sacagawea, a Shoshone, be admired as an "American?" If her husband is abhorrent because of his cowardice, does she "prove" her citizenship through bravery? Other contradictions arise throughout Coues's text. Although he never eliminates commentaries from the original journals that imply Sacagawea's savagery, Coues always confirms evaluations that suggest her heroism. He thus reproduces, and in many ways magnifies, dissonances observed in the original texts. Is this native woman an undifferentiated squaw, illustrative of savagery, or is she an individual whose life essentially denies such conflation? Does Sacagawea occupy some ground in between?

Although he proclaims Sacagawea as an American heroine, Coues never resolves the essential incompatibility of Sacagawea's savagery and her heroic actions during the expedition. In spite of such contradictions, Coues' declarations constituted the first step in the initiation of the Sacagawea legend. Less that fifteen years after the publication of this text, writers, painters, and sculptors touted Sacagawea as the "key" to the success of the mission. Before that was possible, nonetheless, before Sacagawea could become a legendary heroine of the American West, conflicting claims concerning Sacagawea's savagery and her heroism had to be mediated.

At the turn of the twentieth century, as progressivism spawned reform

groups that attempted to deal with a variety of cultural problems, Eva Emery Dye sought to extinguish ambiguities surrounding Sacagawea. In History of Oregon Literature, Alfred Powers writes that after this Oberlin graduate moved to Oregon with her husband and children in 1890, Dye ran a household and reared four children. She also conducted intensive research into the history of the territory and produced several novels, as well as poetry, songs, and histories. Convinced by her publishers of the importance of relating the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition just prior to its centennial year, Dye scoured the Biddle and Coues texts and the original expedition journals before publishing her most acclaimed and most popular work, The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark, in 1902 (404-406).

Not satisfied with retelling the story of male heroes, Dye highlights Sacagawea in The Conquest. An activist in the woman suffrage movement,[9] Dye struggled to find a heroine that American women could admire and emulate. As she wrote in her journal, "Out of a few dry bones I found in the old tales of the trip, I created Sacajawea and made her a living entity. For months I dug and scraped for accurate information about this wonderful Indian Maid" (qtd. in Powers, Oregon Literature 93). Dye consequently presents a woman whose existence and actions were to serve as a template from which other women could model their lives. Through her portrayal of Sacagawea, Dye urges the American public to visualize beyond that single, heroic example. If given suffrage, as well as other important opportunities, American women across the continent could also

demonstrate their heroism.

Adopting the chronology of the original journals, Dye weaves a tale of a young woman whose life and actions determine the fate of the expedition. Dye writes, for example, that the captains were eager for Sacagawea's recovery after the difficult delivery of her child since she could translate among the Shoshones. As Dye asserts, "Poor little Sacajawea! She was really very ill. If she died who would unlock the Gates of the Mountains?" (197). Unlike the native woman of Lewis's or Biddle's accounts, Dye's Sacagawea does not merely accompany the explorers. Neither is she simply an interpreter, as Clark first records. Less tentative even than Coues, Dye declares that Sacagawea is the key to the success of the mission.

Like all previous texts recounting the events of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Dye provides many examples of Sacagawea's helpfulness during the journey. Ever industrious as she carries her baby on her back, this native woman identifies landmarks (215, 224), translates among various indigenous groups (228, 232), and assures the safety of the men (236-237). When Dye describes the squall incident, moreover, she writes that "Cruzatte alone was calm, and Sacajawea, who, with her baby and herself to save, still managed to catch and preserve most of the light articles that were floating overboard" (213). In recounting this incident, Dye departs from previous interpretations which neglect to mention Sacagawea at all or report her efforts in a footnote. Instead she features Sacagawea. In fact, she

declares that if Sacagawea had not managed to rescue these important materials, the explorers would have had to turn back.

Notations of Sacagawea's cooperation and helpfulness do not preclude questions and tensions generated by earlier assertions of Sacagawea's savagery, however. In order to overcome these dissonances, Dye seeks to demonstrate that Sacagawea was not a typical native. Unlike Lewis, Clark, Biddle and Allen, and Coues, Dye attempts to deny that Sacagawea was a savage. Only once does she term Sacagawea a "squaw." Since that occurs when she writes of Sacagawea's initial arrival at Fort Mandan, Dye documents the impossibility of recognizing nobility from a glimpse at any native woman. After that brief moment, Sacagawea's essence becomes apparent, and Dye never calls her a "squaw" again. Thereafter throughout the work, Dye contrasts the beautiful, young Bird Woman with those "leathery dames" who were wrinkled and old at thirty (188, 193).

Such comparisons, by themselves, do not suffice in separating Sacagawea from the savage masses, nevertheless, since the Bird Woman too would eventually age. Dye instead relies on an important facet of frontier mythic traditions to illustrate Sacagawea's unique status. When expedition members discover that her brother is a Shoshone chief, Dye writes that Sacagawea was "a Princess, come home now to her Mountain Kingdom"(228). Sacagawea becomes an Indian princess, her nobility stemming from her "royal" heritage.[10] Combining declarations of royalty with other signs of Sacagawea's exceptional character, such as industry,

devotion to the cause, and courage, Dye delineates a unique American heroine.

Expounding on this characterization, Dye describes Sacagawea as the quintessence of nineteenth-century "true womanhood." Although she stresses the baby's presence at every point, Dye never implies that the child is too great a burden. Never does Baptiste prevent his attentive and devoted mother from achieving impressive goals. In addition to emphasizing Sacagawea's motherhood, Dye highlights Sacagawea's domesticity throughout the novel. Not only does she care for a baby in the dangerous wilderness, but she also finds and prepares foods for the entire group (209, 245) and nurses the men when they are ill (241). Describing an evening at their winter quarters near the Pacific Ocean, Dye writes:

> All day the firelight flickered on Sacajawea's hair, as she sat making moccasins, crooning a song . . . with the baby Touissant [Baptiste] toddling around her on the puncheon floor . . . The modest Shoshone princess never dreamed how the presence of her child and herself gave a touch of domesticity to that Oregon winter. (245)

This Sacagawea exemplifies a life of "true womanhood." Just as the baby represents each expedition member's son/brother, Sacagawea becomes that man's modest and pure mother/sister/wife. As Dye illustrates, popular nineteenth-century notions of purity, domesticity, and motherhood demonstrate a woman's moral superiority.[11]

In conjunction with such declarations, nonetheless, Dye never loses sight of her goal to depict a powerful and authoritative heroine. During that same winter, according to Dye, Charbonneau tells Sacagawea that the captains will not allow her

to see the whale because the journey of a few miles might be too arduous. Aware of the ridiculousness of such reasoning, since she has just completed a trek across half a continent with a baby on her back, Sacagawea is angry. Dye writes that "This was a staggering blow to Sacajawea, but her woman's determination had been aroused and she took the rostrum, so to speak" (250). Unswayed by convention, Sacagawea thrusts the baby at her husband Charbonneau and argues her own case before Lewis and Clark. Apprised of the capriciousness of the previous decision, humbled by this "brave little woman" (250), Clark agrees to let Sacagawea see the ocean. In this passage, Dye abandons all previous interpretations of the incident. Although the Biddle edition fails to mention the event, Lewis and Clark note that Sacagawea cites past accomplishments to achieve her goal. Neither of these texts, however, implies that the force of her arguments or the authority of her person had the least effect on the captains. Instead, they declare that Clark merely indulges Sacagawea's whim. Rather than being acted upon, Dye's Sacagawea initiates action and demands a response. She does not rest until she has achieved the desired outcome.

Dye offers the culminating portrait of Sacagawea's authority in descriptions of the return trip. A member of Clark's party near the Continental Divide, Sacagawea "led the way into the labrynthine Rockies" (283). Pointing the way, she cries, "'Onward!'. . .'the gap there leads to your canoes!'" (284). Later, when the men are bewildered by the network of peaks, Sacagawea again indicates the route,

and Clark merely follows (285). Elaborating beyond Clark's casual notation or Coues's commentary, Dye projects a powerful woman. This heroine not only ventures into the wilderness with men, but at times she actually supersedes them in knowledge and motivation.

The explorers' departure from Fort Mandan provides Dye with the best opportunity to sum up this native woman, "Sacajawea, modest princess of the Shoshones, heroine of the expedition, stood with her babe in her arms and smiled upon them [the expedition men] from the shore. So had she stood in the Rocky Mountains pointing out the gates" (290). No savage squaw, Dye's Sacagawea is an Indian princess; a devoted and tender mother; a model of purity, modesty, and domesticity; an American heroine by virtue of her courageous service to the mission.

According to Jane Tompkins in Sensational Designs, writers like Dye attempt to redefine certain aspects of the social order by articulating and proposing solutions to problems of a particular historical moment (xi).[12] As she presents a heroine in The Conquest, Dye seeks to provide society "with a means of thinking about itself" by defining certain aspects of a shared social reality and by "dramatizing its conflicts, and recommending solutions" (200). Devoted to the woman's movement, fighting for suffrage, tempering potentially-threatening images of Sacagawea's female power and authority with assertions of her modesty and domesticity, Dye proposes that women could be liberated and yet retain qualities of

true womanhood. As contemporary American women incorporated new social constructions into past culturally-approved models of behavior, they would benefit not only themselves and their families, but their entire society.

Thousands of readers embraced the first fictional Sacagawea.[13] Commenting on this response in her journal, Dye remarks, "The beauty of that faithful Indian woman with her baby on her back, leading those stalwart mountaineers and explorers through the strange land appealed to the world" (qtd. in Clark and Edmonds 94). Was this characterization of Sacagawea the only aspect of the novel that attracted such an audience? Surely, as Dye declares, some women were in search of a heroine, but that cannot entirely account for the popular appeal of The Conquest. Coterminous with the tale of a heroine, many notations glorify the exploration and subsequent settlement of the West. Such commentaries also facilitated the novel's widespread acceptance.

In this historical romance,[14] Dye depicts a tale of notable people's lives in a particular place and at a specific time. Not simply relating a story of past heroism, she additionally demonstrates how historical figures illuminate past meanings in terms of present conditions. Dye essentially taps into national consciousness and collective understandings of frontier traditions and connects them to her own time. As she offers a sentimental look backward at the expedition, she celebrates the conquest of the wilderness and reaffirms American frontier traditions.

Alfred Powers claims that Dye, like many Oregonians of that time,

maintained a frontier perspective. The conquest of the wilderness, argues Powers, was in her memory and on her tongue (408). Dye reflects such a perspective throughout The Conquest, but no more explicitly than in the following passage:

> The Indian? He fought and was vanquished. How we are beginning to love our Indians, now that we fear them no longer! . . . We might have tamed him but we had not time. The movement was too swift, the pressure behind made the white man drivers as the Indian had driven before. Civilisation [sic] demands repose, safety. And until repose and safety came we could do no effective work for the Indian. We of today have lived the longest lives, for we have seen a continent transformed. . . . We have forgotten . . . that the Indian beleaguered our wooden castle. (442)

As she explains how and why natives had to be subdued and as she reiterates the benefits Euro-American culture reaped in that process, Dye explicates significant components of manifest destiny.

Asserting several times that the savage "Indian" had resisted civilization, Dye does not simply conflate all aboriginals into one type. She reduces them to a single unit and subsequently identifies this lone savage as male. In doing so, Dye invokes images long associated with the ignoble native man: captivity of innocent pioneer women, threatening sexuality, potential torture.[15] As she further argues, this solitary male constitutes the antithesis of the "we" of the frontier. Not only identifying her audience, Dye counts herself as one of these pioneers. In addition, by stressing that a profusion of settlers needed the land of that lone savage, Dye tacitly points out that her people, because they are civilized and by virtue of their numbers, justly took possession of the continent.

As she embraced the dichotomy of savagery and civilization, Dye also reflects other frontier conceptions. She implies, for instance, that some powerful force compelled the mission on the continent. Although Dye claims that the Indian "fought," she does not name the recipient of such action. Employing the passive voice as she states that this Indian "was vanquished" in the next phrase, Dye thus intimates that the action occurred without agency. Whom the Indian had fought and who had vanquished him remains unidentified. Later vaguely proclaiming that the "movement was too swift," Dye indicates that a power, one that was not to be denied or controlled, initiated the rush of settlement. As she names that source of energy in the next sentence, Dye asserts that "civilization" had demanded "safety" and "repose." Civilization itself commanded the "transformation" of the frontier.

Certain about the mission on the continent, confident of her audience's concurrence, Dye does nothing to specify material, social, or cultural conditions before or after the transformation of the continent. Nor does she enumerate the costs or benefits of the change for either savages or civilized settlers. Such omissions indicate that Dye is persuaded that the transformation was manifestly positive. Although the process itself might have proven painful to the contesting sides, both are obvious beneficiaries. No further details, explanations, or illuminations are necessary.

Dye does not totally dismiss past pioneer behaviors, however. Claiming that pioneers became "drivers" during the "movement," she reports that "we might have

tamed" the savage. Although she acknowledges a certain level of failure on the part of settlers, Dye also absolves them of responsibility as she claims that "the Indian had driven before." Preceding white men in the act of conquest, the savage was simply a previous participant in the appropriate cycle of acquisition. Since the "Indian's" former action essentially attested to the validity of a successive possession of frontier territories, "he" is forced to acquiesce to more numerous, more powerful, and more advanced Euro-American pioneers.

Throughout the passage, Dye inscribes a sense of the inevitability of these past events.[16] "We" had no dominion until civilization had justifiably driven the savage out of his wilderness. Until civilization overcame obstacles in its path, "we" could initiate no other action. Such claims verify that civilization had an obligation to accomplish its goal. Even as she asserts that "we" could begin to help the "Indian," Dye reminds the reader that this benevolence was possible only because the savage no longer posed a threat to civilization. Only when "the castle," the locus of that civilization, was in safe repose, could settlers begin to love the "Indian."

In attempting to accomplish one kind of cultural work, which Jane Tompkins describes, Dye also embraces another objective. As Philip Fisher discusses in Hard Facts: Setting and Form in the American Novel, popular literature often retraces the past in an effort to perform valuable service for the present. By stabilizing, simplifying, and justifying past events and by repeating

their culturally-mandated meanings, these works install "habits of moral perception." Such cultural texts furthermore facilitate the "forgetting" of the strenuous process that helped to convert learned meanings into collective understandings. As Fisher writes, many nineteenth-century works performed these tasks in America as they rehearsed the conflation of native groups, the inevitability of the expulsion of natives from their territories, and the progress of civilization on the continent (3-5).

Therefore, as Dye models a female character that was to be admired and emulated, a prototype from which other women might build their lives, she simultaneously justifies American frontier traditions. Although these goals harmonize in many ways, the joining of such concerns also creates dissonances as they converge with the meanings of Sacagawea's character. By differentiating between savagery and civilization, for example, Dye defines two mutually exclusive categories. Although she consciously excludes Sacagawea from the ranks of savagery, neither does Dye delineate Sacagawea as civilized. Sacagawea's ambiguous situation is evident through The Conquest.

When introducing Sacagawea's husband Charbonneau, for example, Dye asserts that "The worst white man was better than an Indian husband" (197). Here Dye clearly distinguishes between the behaviors of a savage and a civilized husband and states that Sacagawea benefitted from the better spouse. Dye also indicates, nonetheless, that Charbonneau is among the worst of civilized men. Like Coues,

Dye bases such assessments, at least in part, on Charbonneau's purported cowardice during the mission. She also stresses that Charbonneau is the prototypical French trader. A despicable "squawman," Charbonneau is a "civilized" male who succumbs to the seduction of the wilderness as he adopts savage ways and marries native women.[17]

In spite of the implications of these comments, however, Dye never protests that her heroine, her wonderful Indian princess, was married to Charbonneau. In fact, Dye implies that although Charbonneau is obviously diminished by his marriage and lifestyle, he remains civilized. Sacagawea, who is raised by the match, cannot be included within that category. Even as Dye illustrates that behavior and environment can influence the degree of a person's savagery or civilization, she essentially contends that placement within those classifications is determined by birthright.

Dye establishes Sacagawea's marginal status in other passages as well. As she details the scene in which the expedition men prepare to leave Fort Mandan, Dye summarizes Sacagawea, "Madonna of her race, she had led the way to a new time. . . . Across North America a Shoshone Indian Princess touched hands with Jefferson, opening her country" (290). Pure in both body and spirit, princess Sacagawea has not only assured the success of the mission; she has also "led the way" to the future. As a result of the magnificent service she renders, she "touches hands with Jefferson." Despite such metaphoric flourishes, Dye still

proclaims that Sacagawea is a Shoshone and a member of "her race." This Indian princess cannot supersede her savage heritage even if she is superior to other natives.

Dye reinforces the concept of innate savagery as she describes Sacagawea's thoughts. Watching the men leave Fort Mandan, Sacagawea "looked wistfully. She, too, would like to visit the white man's country" (289). Despite her service and her nobility, Sacagawea does not belong among civilized peoples. Nor does she deserve the best that civilization has to offer. Even in her own mind, Sacagawea knows that such a place is "white man's country," not hers. Confined to a marginal position, the celebrated Indian princess thus articulates a profound irony. As a result of her "royal" birth, her experiences on the arduous journey, and her contact with the men of the Corps, Sacagawea possesses an acute awareness of civilization's promise and gifts. That comprehension, rather than enriching her life, essentially compounds the incongruity of her exclusion from civilization. In spite of Dye's admiration for this "American" heroine, The Conquest reflects the concept that civilization remains closed to all native peoples, even those who purportedly espouse the principles of manifest destiny.

As Ronald Tabor argues in "Sacagawea and the Suffragettes: An Interpretation of a Myth," Sacagawea became a focal point of women's groups in the West after the publication of The Conquest.[18] The Women's Club of Portland, for example, employed Sacagawea's name and story to advance their cause as they

organized the Sacajawea Statue Association and commissioned a statue of Sacagawea for the 1905 centennial celebration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in Portland.[19] Tabor nonetheless neglects to mention that not all works featuring Sacagawea during this period were created by suffragists. Although he carefully traces the history and significance of the Portland piece, for instance, Tabor does not discuss a statue dedicated to Sacagawea during the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. Mrs. Fred C. Harrington, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society during the 1960s, notes that this first statue was created by Bruno Zimm and paid for by the Louisiana Exposition Corporation.[20] Zimm's work is only one example of no fewer than thirty-three texts that highlighted Sacagawea within fifteen years after the publication of The Conquest.[21] Of these histories, novels, articles, news stories, speeches, poems, and plays, fewer than half were produced by suffragists.

Tabor also fails to recognize that Sacagawea became a legendary figure during this period because her story had become an integral part of America's celebration of the western conquest. Although Tabor, as well as Ella Clark and Margot Edmonds in Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, connect certain Sacagawea texts to the suffrage movement, they do not acknowledge that all of the works that feature her during this era also celebrate manifest destiny. Promotional strategies and scripts and the dedication ceremony for Leonard Crunelle's Bird Woman,[22] as well as the statue itself, demonstrate the connection between

Sacagawea and frontier myths.

According to Bertha Palmer in "Sakakawea Statue Recalls Early History," Mrs. Mattie M. Davis, superintendent of Federated Women's Clubs in an eastern North Dakota county, began a state-wide campaign in 1905 to erect a statue in honor of Sacagawea. Palmer, art division chair of the federation, also writes that club women adopted a two-pronged strategy to accomplish their goal. They raised funds while simultaneously circulating promotional materials about Sacagawea.

Club members, in conjunction with public school children, collected over $3,500 to pay for the statue, according to the Bismarck Tribune news story "Statue Unveiling at State Capitol Is Unique Event." Children contributed $555.78 in pennies, and club women donated $1.00 each (6). Unwilling to ask for public monies, women raised additional funds by offering entertainments, festivals, concerts, suppers, and bridge lessons. They also sold flowers, paintings, post cards, and Christmas stamps (8). No one wrote of the irony that this exclusively Euro-American crusade to honor an historical native woman occurred in a state populated by a considerable number of indigenous peoples who remained isolated on reservations. These natives took no part in the monument drive.

Such ironies apparently went unrecognized as club women inaugurated a campaign to promote Sacagawea's notoriety across North Dakota. As the Tribune story relates, 20,000 copies of Sakakawea (Bird Woman) Statue Notes were given away or sold between 1906 and 1910 (8).[23] Created to inform the public about

this American heroine, the brochure lists reasons a statue should be dedicated to Sacagawea. It claims, for example, that she had provided a variety of essential services during the journey. Citing another proof of Sacagawea's virtue and heroism, Statue Notes states that Sacagawea was the first Indian west of the Missouri River to convert to Christianity (np).[24] Proposing as fact an event that was not even hinted at in germinal sources nor verified in any other historical materials, the brochure is the first to incorporate another facet of the Pocahontas story as part of the Sacagawea narrative.[25] Like her East Coast counterpart, Sacagawea helped white men in the wilderness, saved their lives, and adopted their religion.

Not only touting her accomplishments, the brochure also asserts that Sacagawea was not a typical savage, but "more erect, more slenderly built . . . a princess of uncommon grace of mind and of person" (2). She was not a stooped and barrel-shaped squaw, not the type of savage that Gardiner-Sharp witnessed attempting to put on civilized clothing. Instead, Sacagawea was a unique native, based at least partly on the shape of her body. Such purported distinctiveness not only demonstrated her physical superiority; it also pointed to Sacagawea's mental and emotional preeminence. She was a princess by birth and worthy of that title based on her actions. The ideal Indian princess, Sacagawea was an American heroine because she "welcomed with intelligent appreciation the civilization of the white race" (np). Motivated by an uncommon devotion to manifest destiny,

Sacagawea was heroic because she had the sagacity to understand and support the mission into the wilderness. As promotional materials for the campaign explicitly connected Sacagawea to frontier myths, Euro-American men, women, and children honored her across North Dakota.

This crusade culminated as North Dakota Federated Women's Clubs members and others gathered in Bismarck on October 13, 1910, to dedicate Crunelle's statue of Sacagawea. As evidence of the significance of this event, editors of the Bismarck Tribune devoted the entire front page, as well as three inside pages, of the next day's edition to stories about the ceremony. Gathering on the capitol lawn to hear presentations and to see the unveiling of Bird Woman as the "autumn sun" sank "in the west" (1), approximately five thousand people witnessed the unmistakable bond between Sacagawea and American's glorious conquest of the West.

During the ceremony, for example, club women and state historical society officers spoke about the project and about Sacagawea. In each case, presenters espoused frontier concepts and linked Sacagawea to that tradition. Chair of the Sakakawea Committee, Mrs. C.F. Amidon said that "The True pioneer spirit has passed along from the first pioneer, she whose statue is being dedicated here, to the western women of today" (6, original capitalization). Judge B. F. Spalding, accepting the statue on behalf of the state, stated that Sacagawea deserved grateful remembrance because of the selfless and faithful services she performed in "the

land of promise and of plenty, which she helped save to this great nation" (1). Like the scripts promoting the statue, dedication speeches embraced and reiterated frontier myths. Sacagawea was an integral part of these traditions.

As in other progressive era texts, the dedication ceremony also demonstrated that Sacagawea's actions had benefitted America's native peoples. Secretary of the State Historical Society, Dr. O. G. Libby stated in his speech that Sacagawea's efforts had assured that "our good friends" were now able to receive education in government schools (6). The Tribune underscored that concept in a side bar about natives who attended the unveiling. Focusing on specific Shoshones, Hidatsas, Mandans, Arikaras, and Sioux, the story highlighted information that rationalized manifest destiny. According to the Tribune, Gros Ventre James Holding Eagle, a graduate of Santee Nebraska government school, had influenced his parents to "farm and make a home for themselves" (6). Shoshone Mattie Johnson, a graduate of Haskell in Kansas and "a clever lady in every way," was employed in the Bismarck Indian school as instructor in the laundry department (6). Arikara James Beauchamp, also a graduate of a government school, was "one of the successful Indian farmers and stock raisers on the Berthold reservation and one who is doing much for the betterment of his brother in the way of getting better acquainted with better methods both in farming and living" (1). Never having heard of Sacagawea before the monument drive began, according to the news article, such native peoples did not signify the traditional ties between themselves and this "American"

heroine. Instead they illustrated the benefits that all aboriginals had realized since the closing of the frontier.

Speaking English, embracing "civilized" pursuits, reflecting the virtues of assimilation, they stood as evidence that natives peoples could accomplish something in America. These images of purported assimilation, nonetheless, also reveal signs of separation. As Hoxie asserts in A Final Promise, American policies after 1900 created a segregated educational system for native peoples. Unconvinced that innate savagism could be eradicated, framers of such programs halted their efforts to integrate indigenous peoples into American culture. Instead they shifted to a policy of training natives to become marginally productive wards at the bottom of America's social structure. Reflecting these principles, native students, for example, were not integrated into Bismarck High School, but rather were shunted to the "Indian" school south of town. Attending segregated schools in this state capital and throughout the country, such pupils also learned a vastly different curriculum. Trained to become laundresses, farm hands, and ranchers, rather than educated to become doctors, lawyers, and teachers, these students might have seemed more civilized as they adopted language, clothing, and hair cuts of the dominant culture, but they would remain peripheral to civilized America.

In addition to the speeches of the day and the presence of the "assimilated" natives, the unveiling of Crunelle's statue provided the most conspicuous correlations between Sacagawea and manifest destiny. According to the Tribune

story, the 14th U. S. Infantry Band played "The Star Spangled Banner" as the ribbon was cut to "release the folds of the National Flag that veiled the bronze features of Sakakawea" (1). The flag fell away, and "people cheered, and murmurs of appreciation and wonderment fell from the lips of those who gazed upon the beautiful figure" (6). Although Bird Woman was bathed in a national anthem that was not hers, no one wrote of that irony. Nor did anyone note that those who performed the song to honor Sacagawea were military men, similar to those who had expropriated native peoples' lands across the West. Rather, quite literally wrapped in the flag, Sacagawea became one the most recognizable emblems of America's mission into the wilderness.

While written materials promoting the statue became unimportant after the campaign met its goals and although the dedication speeches and ceremony lasted only a few hours, the statue itself establishes and permanently reinforces the connection between Sacagawea and frontier myths. The twelve foot work is set on a block of rough granite. Seemingly emerging from that rock, a large, imposing woman stands erect, head and chin tilted slightly upward. Her strong, bronze features show signs of neither sorrow nor pleasure, but seem to reflect a sense of concentration or determination. Dressed in traditional native garb of fringed buckskin and blankets, this native mother raises her right hand to her shoulder, assuring the security of the sleeping baby on her back. As her right foot is placed only slightly in front of the left, she seems to walk at an unhurried, but purposeful,

pace. In all these ways, Bird Woman appears to signify and to honor any traditional indigenous woman.

Although the statue might not at first seem to represent a specific person or display a definite ideology, Bird Woman identifies the subject of its image and establishes the connection between this "American" heroine and manifest destiny. Relating the identity of the figure, the inscription on the statue base reads, "Sakakawea--the Shoshone Indian 'Bird Woman,' who in 1805, guided the Lewis and Clark expedition from the Missouri River to the Yellowstone." Not a text representing the grandeur or heroism of a universal native or the aboriginal female, the monument, as indicated by the plaque, limits the context to a single historical woman. It furthermore freezes her essence at a particular moment. Although both the statue and the plaque stress Sacagawea's native origins, she is not honored for that reason. Instead, Sacagawea is commemorated because of her actions during the expedition. Since she is a native, moreover, her heroism is cause for greater attention and celebration as she signifies that the best natives also recognized the principles of America's mission on the continent.

Symbolically expounding upon Sacagawea's unique heroism, the statue faces directly west. This purposeful placement converges with the meanings of all the other physical signs of the work. Her intense gaze becomes an indication of her devotion to the expedition and her desire to serve. A "True pioneer," as Amidon declares her, Sacagawea scans the western horizon to envision America's future.

Her stance furthermore represents the long journey she endured on foot, an accomplishment that was more impressive since she bore her baby on her back. That stride, however, also signifies the perseverance of American pioneers as they moved westward across the frontier. Reflecting Annette Kolodny assertions in The Lay of the Land, Bird Woman seemingly arises from the raw materials of the land. Complaint and supportive, this unique native woman symbolizes the willingness of the continent to receive civilized settlement.

Working for five years to fund and dedicate a statue, North Dakota Federated Women's Clubs assured that Sacagawea would be recognized as North Dakota's most celebrated "daughter." So too did sculptor Leonard Crunelle. As the promotional materials, the dedication ceremony, and the statue itself offered a heroine to the state and to America, each text linked her story to celebrations of manifest destiny.

Although Sacagawea's name remained obscure in America for nearly one hundred years, Coues's edition of the journals, Dye's The Conquest, and Crunelle's Bird Woman, in addition to a considerable number of other texts, thus initiated and proliferated the Sacagawea legend. Transforming her into an American heroine during the progressive era, writers and other artists characterized Sacagawea as a singular native woman. Most declared that she was Indian princess. Unique by birth, an American heroine by virtue of her actions and attitudes, Sacagawea explicated and justified America's frontier traditions.

In spite of their efforts to yoke Indian princess imagery with affirmations of manifest destiny, Sacagawea's progressive era proponents nonetheless generated significant questions. As suffragists, for example, claimed Sacagawea as a symbol of modern American womanhood, they attempted ambitious cultural change. Perhaps blinded by their own aims to rectify one kind of injustice, such women seemed unaware of other discriminations they inscribed. How could Sacagawea signify a melding of "American" women's past and future if she was not an American? How could she represent the emancipated American woman when she was never ranked among them?

As suffragists and others excluded Sacagawea from the category of ignoble savagery, they nonetheless barred her from civilization because of her race. If Sacagawea occupied such an ambiguous position, neither savage nor civilized, how could she symbolize the very "civilization" that spurned her? How could she stand as an argument for the society that had rejected one of its most important champions? Portrayed within all of these works is the ambiguous Indian Princess, the noble but innately savage woman whose existence symbolizes the very civilization from which she is set apart.

Perhaps because American culture was unconcerned with such questions at that time, the legend of Sacagawea proliferated after the publication of The Conquest. As the chart presented in Appendix E illustrates, once Dye declared that Sacagawea was not only an American heroine but also an Indian princess, other

works followed her example. During the progressive era, Sacagawea became the royal guide, the essential helper in the penetration and conquest of the West.

In the next chapter, I analyze texts that offer variations and elaborations of the Sacagawea legend. Although World War I and World War II diverted America's attention from Sacagawea, from the early 1940s through the 1960s the Indian princess of the trans-Mississippi West once again became a focal point in many popular texts, including histories, radio programs, novels, and a Hollywood film.

During this period, as in the progressive era, Sacagawea continued to be vaunted as an American heroine and Indian princess. Unable, for the most part, to probe contradictions between American heroism and Sacagawea, as well as the marginalization of the princess herself, these works generated many of the questions observed during the progressive era. Creators of this later period, like their predecessors, also employ the character of Sacagawea as a means of exploring and questioning important aspects of a dynamic American culture. These texts, for example, engaged in the cultural discourse of native acculturation, as well as an examination of American strictures against interracial relationships. From 1940 through 1969, Sacagawea continued to be a legendary figure of the American West.

CHAPTER 4

VARIATION AND ELABORATION: THE SACAGAWEA LEGEND FROM THE 1940S THROUGH THE 1960S

During the progressive era, a group of historians, novelists, sculptors, and other artists offered reinterpretations of original Lewis and Clark Expedition scripts. Such people transformed Sacagawea from the helpful, yet savage, squaw into an Indian princess and an important American heroine. Citing her cooperation during the trip, her devotion to the mission, her "royal" heritage, and in some cases her womanly power and independence, these portrayers initiated the Sacagawea legend. The once obscure native woman thus became an important symbol of American frontier traditions.

Certain discontinuities emerged in those works, however, as framers melded images of the Indian princess with rhetoric of manifest destiny. Although they asserted that Sacagawea was helpful during the trip because of her devotion to expedition goals and her belief in manifest destiny, such portrayals never probed Sacagawea's motivations satisfactorily. They did not ask a variety of questions that accompanied their explanations of her behaviors. Convinced that manifest destiny was the primary motivator for anyone capable of realizing its merits, progressive era creators never questioned assumptions that Sacagawea was spurred to action for

that reason. Texts produced from the 1940s through the 1960s nonetheless explored other possible motivations for her behaviors, and some also advanced narrative changes. Many of these revisions emerged from a text published in 1932.

As Raymond Stedman notes, the period between the two world wars was a "light one" for Indian princesses (68). The Sacagawea legend indeed reflects this trend, as American creators apparently turned their attentions from portrayals of the frontier past.[1] Between 1920 and 1939, for instance, writers produced fewer than one third the number of works concerned with Sacagawea as had been generated in the two previous decades. Although she evidently became a more inviting subject in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the lowest level of production during that time occurred while America was still engaged in World War II. Nevertheless, between 1917 and 1939 a few "interim" texts embraced the Sacagawea story. Accepting and disseminating interpretations initiated during the progressive era, they designated that Sacagawea was an Indian princess, the guide to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and the key to its success.

One interim researcher introduced important additions to the Sacagawea legend. A suffragist who became interested in Sacagawea during the campaigns of the early 1900s,[2] Grace Raymond Hebard wrote "Pilot of First White Men to Cross the American Continent" in 1907. In that article, Hebard simply restates familiar assertions about Sacagawea. Dissatisfied with such recapitulations, this professor of political economy at the University of Wyoming focused her research

activities almost exclusively on Sacagawea for the next three decades. Since Hebard was also unwilling to limit her investigations to the Sacagawea story as it intersected with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, she searched for information about the later life of America's western heroine.

Hebard's efforts came to fruition in 1932 when she published Sacagawea: A guide and interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, with an account of the travels of Toussaint Charbonneau and of Jean Baptiste, the expedition papoose. Citing Coues (85, 95) and acknowledging her special indebtedness to Eva Emery Dye (115, passim), Hebard emphasizes, in the early pages of this work, that Sacagawea guided the explorers and aided them in innumerable ways. She also extrapolates beyond the narrative about the mission, arguing that Sacagawea did not die in her early twenties. Basing her conclusions on oral testimonies of F.G. Burnett, James Irwin, and James I. Patten, Euro-American agents and traders among the Shoshones during the late nineteenth century, Hebard asserts that Sacagawea did not die until she was nearly one hundred years old.[3]

After visiting St. Louis and then living among the southwestern Apaches, Hebard's subject purportedly returned to the Shoshones to convince them to accept a treaty with the United States government and to settle on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming (151-168). Hebard writes that "Sacajawea proved of the greatest value to the whites through her influence with her own people. She was able to understand the white man's point of view and to present this to the Indians"

(169). The elderly native woman, described as slight of stature, beautiful despite her age, with skin as light as a half breed's, also allegedly urged the Shoshones to adopt agriculture. Tutoring her people to raise wheat and other grains, Sacagawea informed them that they must accept "white man's ways" in order to survive (184).

With Hebard's emendations and additions, the Sacagawea legend suddenly expanded, and so too did the cultural work it entailed. Although original expedition texts offered no information about Sacagawea's appearance, Hebard's informants supplied physical details that coincided with mythic images of Indian princesses. These witnesses confirmed her genetic superiority as they testified that her physical characteristics were those of the prototypical Indian princess.[4] Not a common savage, more closely akin to Euro-American females, Sacagawea was a singular native woman. More importantly, this text also broadens the basis of Sacagawea's heroism as it synthesized new information and meanings with previous interpretations of the legend. While progressive period texts asserted that Sacagawea understood the importance of helping Lewis and Clark in the conquest of the continent, Hebard additionally verified that Sacagawea's attitudes and actions did not waiver in old age. Demonstrating her continued allegiance to the mission, she became an apologist of native assimilation. The elderly Sacagawea therefore embodied principles of frontier traditions that applied to twentieth-century America.

Although other historians criticized Hebard's scholarship and disputed her findings,[5] the work sold well throughout the United States. As Robert A. Clark

notes, the Arthur H. Clark Company published and distributed approximately four thousand copies of the 1932, 1957, 1958, and 1967 editions of Hebard's text. At least half were sold to libraries and educational institutions. Since this work was the definitive historical text of Sacagawea's life, writers and editors of grade school, high school, and college history books employed it, for several decades, as the primary resource for their own commentaries about Sacagawea.

Less than ten years after the first publication of Hebard's work, American writers and artists demonstrated a renewed interest in Sacagawea. Between 1940 and 1969, proponents wrote articles, painted scenes of the trip, erected monuments in her honor, and marked sights of the expedition trail. Historical novels were the most prominent and popular of these texts. While not all novels of this period endorsed the Hebard version of Sacagawea's life, each embraced frontier traditions. Sacagawea remained the essential helper in the wilderness, and in most cases, novelists declared that she was the key to the success of the expedition. Unlike the works of the progressive era, however, these works provided different reasons for the native woman's activities in the wilderness. They thus offered variations and elaborations of the Sacagawea legend.

Rather than proposing that a nebulous commitment to manifest destiny was the sole reason for her actions, novelists of this period more often asserted that a romantic attachment between Sacagawea and one of the expedition men was an impetus for her cooperation during the trip. Such works further argued that her

affection developed as a result of Lewis's or Clark's considerate treatment of her. Although previous scripts scrupulously avoided references to Sacagawea's sexuality, writers in this period framed the story around the potential for interracial romance. The Indian princess of the trans-Mississippi West thus became a nearly perfect duplicate of her "sister," Pocahontas. Like Pocahontas, the legendary Sacagawea possessed a royal heritage and physical characteristics of the princess. She helped white men in the wilderness. And beginning in the 1940s, Sacagawea also bore the burden of a hopeless love for a gallant and heroic captain.

In order to illustrate this new cause and effect plot, texts of this period featured different aspects of the trip than those emphasized in previous works. They highlighted personal interactions between Sacagawea and her benefactor, whether it was Lewis or Clark. In order to accomplish that without too much dissonance, since Sacagawea was a married woman, most of the scripts adopted and embellished an interpretation first outlined by Coues. The villain in these works, Charbonneau treats his woman with savage brutality.[6] Reiterations of his behaviors not only legitimated Sacagawea's vulnerability to another man's attentions; they also demonstrated the injustices of native existence and thus bolstered arguments of civilization's rightful conquest of the wilderness.

Although Sacagawea texts of the 1940s through the 1960s shared certain patterns of interpretations, they also recorded important differences. This is especially evident in the ways that men and women related the narrative.[7] While

praising Sacagawea for her helpfulness and cooperation, for example, most male novelists also indicated that she acted from love alone. She possesses no real understanding of the mission or of manifest destiny. Neither the champion of a grand design nor an advocate of American destiny, this woman lives and thinks on a more basic level. She comprehends the world through the lens of her narrow life and limited emotions. The majority of male novelists furthermore framed Sacagawea's story around the tale of the expedition, implying that she is significant only in that context. Even within this framework, her most important legendary achievements, such as her guidance of Clark in the mountains, were not emphasized. Such actions were rarely, if ever, mentioned. More often acted upon than acting, Sacagawea depends upon Lewis or Clark or another expedition man for direction and motivation. This woman is not in the least reminiscent of Dye's intrepid heroine.

Although female writers of the period concurred with some interpretations advanced by their male contemporaries, such women attempted to avoid diminution of Sacagawea's accomplishments. Reiterating her heroic deeds, they especially featured her guidance of the captains and her strength and intelligence. While these texts agreed that Sacagawea was devoted to one of the men, they offered additional motivations for her actions. As they argued, her esteem for a "civilized" man stimulated a real understanding of the superiority of Euro-American culture. Nearly all texts produced by women during this era also broadened the context of

Sacagawea's story to include her lifetime before and after the expedition.[8] Not simply a character in the tale of America's epic journey, she is the centerpiece of the entire work. Even before she meets Lewis or Clark or their men, for example, the young princess possesses an indistinct sense that something is amiss in her savage world. Unlike male writers embracing the legend during this period, the majority of women do not conclude that love alone inspired Sacagawea. Rather than the sufficient cause for her actions, such emotions merely contributed to Sacagawea's intellectual grasp of more important cultural realities. After men of the Corps demonstrated the defects of native life, for example, Sacagawea championed native assimilation.

Of myriad texts offering variations and elaborations of the Sacagawea legend from the 1940s through the 1960s, I examine three historical novels. Typical of male works of this period, Donald Culross Peattie's Forward the Nation focuses on events of the expedition. While he praises Sacagawea's actions, the import of those activities is reduced as a result of his disparaging comments about Sacagawea's sex and race. She remains the heroine of the tale, but her accomplishments are overshadowed by the heroes, the civilized men of the Corps. In Sacajawea of the Shoshones, Della Gould Emmons illustrates patterns embraced by female proponents of that time. Beginning her narrative with the young princess's capture and ending with the old woman's life among the Shoshones, Emmons presents an exceptional heroine whose awareness of "civilization's" virtues is awakened by

Clark and the other men of the Corps. While Will Henry's The Gates of the Mountains in some ways exemplifies male works of the period, it also departs from typical strategies. Henry, for example, omits large portions of the expedition story. Interested in questioning previous interpretations of Sacagawea's character, Henry also proposes that Sacagawea, Clark, and the narrator become involved in a romantic triangle. This situation offers Henry opportunities to examine mythic understandings of savagery and civilization.

Even as they forward variations of the Sacagawea legend, these works embrace and justify American frontier myths. While the nation had completed its conquest of the continent and although native groups had been placed on reservations long before this era, Emmons, Peattie, and Henry rehearse traditional interpretations of native savagery and mission. Therefore, I explore how another American genre privileged similar representations during this period, demonstrating that Sacagawea texts were not alone in embracing America's past. Henry's, Emmons's, and Peattie's texts also engage in the cultural discourse of native assimilation and acculturation. As these conversations applied to actions and attitudes of their own period, I subsequently describe how such concerns maintained prominence in American texts and policies from the close of the frontier to the end of the 1960s.

Although some critics have written that one phase of American history ended in the late 1800s, as Euro-American pioneers completed the settlement of the

continent and as native groups from those territories were subdued and placed on reservations, not all writers and artists shifted their attentions to their own times or to the future. Instead, many offered interpretations of the frontier past. Whether audiences accepted them as true portrayals of American origins, that is, if rationalized frontier myths maintained a level of operational vitality during this period, is difficult to discern. Some people within America's complex and diverse populations probably viewed these texts as simple entertainment. Many undoubtedly believed that such narratives related cultural realities. Still others might have consciously rejected frontier "truths" as cultural events conflicted with mythic conceptions. As creators offered tales of the wilderness and as large audiences enthusiastically embraced those stories, this association illustrated that frontier traditions sustained at least some level of emotional potency on the continent.

From the turn of the century to the end of the 1960s, films have constituted one of America's most powerful purveyors of frontier mythic values and emotions. Reiterating notions previously illustrated and proliferated in captivity narratives, dime novels, wild west shows, and other popular works, this medium reinforced common conceptions of the mission into the wilderness and of civilization and savagery. Films did not allow notions of America's frontiers or their mythic meanings to fade from individual or collective memory.[9]

Although Michael Hilger argues that silent movies of 1903 through 1929

were generally sympathetic to natives (6), other critics argue that Hollywood immediately adopted visual images that justified and rationalized the conquest of the continent. As Ralph and Natasha Friar assert, such works as Edison's "peep shows" and The Great Train Robbery featured ignoble savages (69-78). These characters demonstrated that civilization was obliged to eradicate paganism and barbarism in the wilderness.

In movies produced between 1930 and 1949, natives became vehicles to build the hero's stature. Raoul Walsh's They Died With Their Boots On, for example, depicted the heroic story of General Custer's heroic, albeit tragic, battle against unified Plains Indians. In this and many other films savage hordes were almost exclusively male and who had no tribal or individual distinctiveness (Bataille and Silet xxiii). Another famous work of the period, John Ford's Stagecoach, featured Euro-Americans who bonded together to fight off faceless, nameless savages that attacked during their journey into the frontier. A few other westerns of this era are relatively well-known, but serials constituted the bulk of films featuring natives during this period. Such works conflated all indigenous peoples into the definitive category of "savagery" and also relayed the idea that they were incapable of communication, even with each other, since they were given little, if any, dialogue other than "ugh" and "how" (Price 158). Images of savages thus became inseparable from portrayals of America's untamed landscape.

By the 1950s and 1960s, hostile natives had become staples in American

westerns. Jenni Calder contends, for instance, that familiar images of ignoble savages, female captives, and monstrous half-breeds preserved the glory days of the frontier (22). John Ford's The Searchers is one of the most famous works capitalizing on all of these concepts. Not only is the protagonist, played by perennial western hero John Wayne, obsessed with rescuing his niece from captivity among natives, but when he does find her, he threatens to kill her because she and her "half-breed" child will never overcome the taint of their contact with savagery. While such films demonstrated the power of frontier traditions, others appeared to revise common portrayals of native peoples during this period. As Richard Brenzo and John Price argue, by the mid to late 1960s certain screen writers and producers conducted legitimate investigations of indigenous cultures and provided glimpses of traditional native life on film (Brenzo 43; Price 160). Price also asserts, nonetheless, that even these few sketches reiterated that the eradication of natives was unfortunate, but necessary, since civilization was destined to progress across the continent (161).

While most of these studies focus on images of male warriors, captors, and torturers, since they were the most common figures portrayed in American films throughout the decades, Indian princesses also played important roles in Hollywood productions. As Ralph and Natasha Friar contend, Mona Darkfeather appeared as the Indian princess in twenty films produced in 1914 (109). While the Friars restrict their remarks about Indian princesses to Hollywood's early years, data

indicate that these images have also been important in films produced in subsequent decades.[10]

Between 1903 and 1929, 78% of films featuring a native woman portrayed the young, beautiful, light-skinned maiden who helped to rescue one or more white men in the alien wilderness. This percentage remained stable from 1930 to 1940. Such a statistic demonstrates the princess's persistent dominance of the screen since the proportion of works focused on any native woman dropped during that later period. In the 1950s and 1960s, Hollywood focused on the princess in 65% of all the films about a native woman. Although the number of movies that portrayed wives and/or mothers within traditional native cultures rose over the decades, demonstrating that writers and producers incorporated historical research into their texts, overall data illustrate that in all of these periods, Hollywood clung to Indian princesses.

In addition to restricting native images to a few common types, American films disseminated other pertinent information about indigenous peoples. Because they focused almost exclusively on the nation's past, such texts implied that natives were not really part of America after they had been placed on reservations.[11] While a few movies presented historically accurate portrayals of indigenous peoples and their cultures, even they contributed to the cumulative affect of Hollywood's obsession with the frontier period. According to such works, whether natives were annihilated by the cavalry or whether they settled peaceably on reservations,

savages did not really matter as long as they did not hinder civilization's progress.

Despite Hollywood's visual expurgation of native existence after the 1880s, many other texts produced after the turn of the century engaged in a discourse about assimilation and acculturation. In "American Identity and Americanization," Philip Gleason claims that the idea of the "melting pot"[12] dominated the cultural conversation about race and ethnicity for decades. This vivid metaphor relayed concepts of renewal and inclusiveness as it implied that the nation was enriched by its diversity only as it forged a single "American" type.

Assuring that various peoples would become Americans in the New World, the melting pot proposed that the dominant culture dissolved differences, purged Old World imperfections, and melded and fused everyone into a finer metal. Citing a newspaper clipping about the Ford Motor Company English School Melting Pot graduation of 1916, Werner Sollors emphasizes that these ideas were extremely popular and sustained great force during that period. Initially dressed in foreign clothes and carrying signs that indicated their countries of origin, graduates walked across a stage that was decorated like a immigrant ship. They then descended into an immense caldron and emerged moments later in "American" clothes. Each carried a small American flag (Beyond Ethnicity 89-90). Ritually reborn through the melting pot, these students were Americans.

As some sources claim, discussions about cultural pluralism countered melting pot rhetoric beginning in the 1920s. Asserting that America was comprised

of culturally distinct racial and ethnic groups, proponents of pluralism further argued that diversity was a strength of the nation rather than a liability. In spite of these contentions, certain U.S. policies seemed to deny the inclusiveness of the melting pot. They also appeared to discount America's acceptance of cultural pluralism. The 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, for example, restricted immigration based on nationality. With such quotas in place, America could not be construed as an asylum for the "other." Nor could it be seen as a place for melting of all peoples into a finer metal. Instead, potent collective conceptions delineated that some groups were unqualified for melting. Their differences were unfusable.

Indigenous peoples, African-Americans, and Orientals were among the nation's "unmeltables." As Richard Polenberg writes in One Nation Divisible: Class, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States Since 1938, the melting pot has never reflected the reality of America. Also rejecting the existence of cultural pluralism in this period, he states that while diversity has always existed in the nation, various peoples were excluded from participation in the dominant culture because of their race. In Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960s, Milton Viorst seems to oppose such conclusions as he describes the birth and growth of the civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Viorst nevertheless concurs that although civil rights legislation constituted one of the greatest achievements of the 1960s, such decrees did not eliminate racial exclusion in America. As Allen Matusow claims in The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the

1960s, the ideal of a multi-ethnic, multi-racial democracy, a society that provided equal justice and equal opportunity, was imperfectly realized by the close of the 1960s (375).

Polenberg, Matusow, and Viorst, like most historians discussing race during this period, focus on issues and events concerning African-Americans. As other researchers point out, U.S. policies also contemplated concepts of indigenous peoples' assimilation and acculturation in this era. Francis Paul Prucha writes that policies swung from encouraging native assimilation to embracing self-determination and then back to assimilation during the first six decades of the twentieth century. Although officials seemed to reverse their objectives repeatedly, each policy maintained a common thread. None understood nor could they overcome problems of racial exclusion.

While previous programs like the Dawes Act of 1889 attempted to annihilate all forms of indigenous culture, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 is most often held up as the beacon of programs reflecting America's acceptance of native traditions. As Prucha writes, the IRA was a "watershed" in policy that began under the auspices of John Collier, America's most famous Commissioner of Indian Affairs (917). Encouraging indigenous forms to flourish and ordering the recovery of lands lost during allotment, the IRA, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, sought to protect traditional identities and native lands. Graham Taylor argues in The New Deal and American Tribalism: The Administration of the

Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45, however, that differences between the Dawes Act and the Indian Reorganization Act were not absolute. According to Taylor, Collier appeared willing to recognize distinct native cultures, but he formulated monolithic theories of tribal organization based on conceptions derived from a visit among the Pueblos. Reflecting Collier's conflation, the IRA subsequently mandated that the tribe was the basic unit for the enactment of all federal economic and political programs. Since bureaucrats wrote native constitutions and because these officials also held a tight reign on most economic programs as a means of assuring tribal survival, they limited indigenous peoples' political and economic autonomy. Even if the IRA did not espouse complete native self-determination, these policies might be interpreted as a pragmatic synthesis of pluralism and assimilation. In The Roots of Dependence: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos, Richard White argues that neither concept guided certain Collier programs. After the Hoover Dam was built, for example, the Soil Conservation Service and the Army Corps of Engineers sought ways to protect the facility from silt accumulation. Determining that overgrazing on the Navajo reservation led to erosion and gullying, engineers suggested that the problem of silting could be eliminated through herd reductions. Collier and other officials accepted this solution despite the economic and cultural importance of such animals in Navajo society. According to White, this program devastated Navajo subsistence.

During the 1930s and early 1940s, as Collier sought to protect indigenous peoples and their traditional cultures, his support of native self-determination was thus limited and contingent. His championing of aboriginal needs also fell short if they clashed with Euro-American interests. While the IRA seemed different from Dawes, both embraced concepts of assimilation, at least to some extent, and both guarded the economic interests of the larger society. Other aspects of the Indian Reorganization Act also coincided with those of allotment. While Dawes implicitly assured that natives would be welcomed into American society, if they adapted themselves to the dominant culture, that promise was not met in most cases. Proponents of allotment suggested that this failure arose from aboriginals' lack of acculturation. As Hoxie and others argue, however, even when natives accepted outward signs of "civilization" after their lands were divided, the "melting pot" could not eliminate the stigma of race. Neither had most of the population accepted the idea that difference and diversity were the essence and strength of America.

The Indian Reorganization Act of the 1930s and early 1940s did not eliminate, and perhaps exacerbated, the ambiguity of native positions and roles in American culture. Undoubtedly seeking to guard traditional cultures and the remnants of their homelands, the IRA also ironically reinforced the isolation of indigenous peoples. Collier might have envisioned a "harmonic orchestra"[13] or a stained glass window or a quilt as the root metaphor for America, with diverse populations playing various "instruments" in unison or with groups of varying sizes,

shapes, and colors adding depth and meaning to the culture. These visions nonetheless failed to reflect the national reality. Despite rhetoric extolling cultural pluralism, race continued to be a factor for exclusion in this era. The IRA made that easier. While Collier rejected the necessity of total assimilation, he could not guarantee that America would accept cultural pluralism.

After World War II, U.S. policy again promoted the physical and cultural integration of natives into the dominant culture. As Donald Fixico asserts in Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960, native involvement in the war,[14] both in the military service and in industries at home, indicated that indigenous peoples were ready to become full participants in a unified and homogenous society. Embracing such beliefs during Eisenhower's administration, government officials and legislators drafted and enacted a series of federal policies to terminate tribes and thus "desegregate" reservations. Congress also funded relocation programs that encouraged natives to "melt" into the dominant culture by moving to urban areas.[15]

In spite of public controversy and protests by indigenous groups, the eighty-third Congress passed a host of bills to terminate tribes. These acts cancelled any special tribal rights and privileges codified in treaties or other agreements with the federal government, including annuities and tax protection. Individual natives would simply join the general population after their tribes ceased to exist. While policy-makers envisioned termination as a method for releasing the government

from its obligations to tribes, they theorized that relocation would ease economic strain on reservation areas by integrating individual natives into American urban society. Former federal dependents would become productive members of an invigorated industrial city, to the benefit of the dominant culture and natives alike.

In "Private Property, The Indian's Door to Civilization," William Hagan asks Congress and other officials to re-examine their assumptions about native assimilation. As he foretells, persistent cultural differences would doom these programs. Despite the aspirations of their proponents, termination and relocation indeed left thousands of natives more demoralized, more financially destitute, and more isolated than ever. Although only a few tribes were actually terminated, those groups relinquished their special status with the federal government, and they surrendered their homelands. Individual natives additionally lost their sense of self as their ethnic groups ceased to exist. Relocation programs affected even more people. Convinced that aboriginals had finally assimilated, policy makers did not recognize that many had not adapted to the dominant culture, in spite of external appearances. Because relocation programs failed to prepare natives to deal with the culture shock of living in big cities and because cultural biases flourished in cities like Minneapolis, Chicago, and Los Angeles, most native participating in relocation returned to reservations after a short period.

Although William Brophy[16] and Sophie Aberle agree in The Indians: American's Unfinished Business--Report of the Commission on the Rights,

Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian that termination and relocation were ill considered and destructive, they propose that assimilation could succeed if natives were given more responsibility in enacting such programs. Brophy and Aberle do not realize, however, that many natives do not aspire to adopt Euro-American life styles. Although Hagan understands that reality, even he fails to mention that American culture did not accept assimilated natives as equal citizens.[17] From the 1930s through the 1960s, as U.S. policies appeared to swing between approval of native self-determination and coercion toward assimilation, their enactment denied larger cultural realities. Clinging to certain socially-constructed realities, the nation continued to separate savages from civilized peoples. In denial of cultural pluralism and in demonstration of its doubt about assimilation, "civilization" for the most part excluded native peoples from full participation in American culture.

Dam projects undertaken from the late 1940s through the 1960s, though not directly tied to U.S. native policies, also reflected such ideologies. Interpreting this enterprise as progress on the continent, the Army Corps of Engineers planned and executed the Missouri River Basin Project which allowed Euro-Americans to use territories that had previously been held hostage to the uncertainties of nature. As the promotional brochure Discover the Spirit! reports, the Missouri River was "too wild for the peace-loving farmers and ranchers working along its banks" (10). Not only containing unpredictable spring flood waters, the dams also yielded huge

amounts of hydro-electric energy, allowed for future irrigation, and provided new water recreation areas.

Michael Lawson argues in "Federal Water Projects and Indian Lands" that such projects were directly tied to native concerns. Completed in 1966, the series of dams converted hundreds of thousands of acres into reservoirs, mostly constituting river bottom lands from twenty-three reservations. These reservoirs destroyed plants and wild life and also displaced hundreds of aboriginal families (171-72). In spite of concerted efforts by natives to prevent the projects, engineers and legislators were unswayed. Because such they had not assimilated or because America denied the validity of cultural pluralism or from both causes, indigenous peoples had no political clout. Their protests had no affect even when the issue concerned their own territories.

When North Dakota politicians, with the concurrence of the general populace, named the reservoir formed by one of those dams for the state's heroine, no one protested. No one wrote of the irony that Lake Sakakawea, among the nation's largest and cleanest bodies of water with a "shoreline stretching 1,600 miles, a distance longer than the coasts of California" (Discover the Spirit! 10), flooded millions of acres the historical woman had once walked. No one mentioned that the land which was lost had belonged to the Mandan, the Arikara, and the Hidatsa, tribes most closely associated with the historical Sacagawea. No one wrote of the irony that such groups once again lost their homes in the name of

progress that Sacagawea purportedly embodied.

From the 1940s to 1970, myriad texts embraced the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and included similar references to American progress. According to Cutright, although writers published fewer than eleven texts about the Lewis and Clark journals prior to 1905, over two hundred titles came to press between 1905 and 1976 (202). In addition, many histories, novels, and other American works embraced the story of America's "epic journey." Each of these works commented on Sacagawea and interpreted her role in America's destiny.

Donald Culross Peattie combined all of these goals in Forward the Nation. Born in Chicago in 1898, a graduate of Harvard's history department, Peattie reflects frontier traditions and offers some new assertions about Sacagawea in this historical novel. Citing the original journals, the Biddle edition, and the Coues text, Peattie announces that no character is fictional. No incident is invented. Everything has been "provided by the unimpeachable reports of eye-witnesses," and whatever has not been stated in the records can be found between the lines (np). American audiences accepted Peattie's "truths" with enthusiasm. Publishers attested to the novel's popular reception by printing several hard back editions, in addition to offering a special "armed services" paper back for overseas consumption during World War II.

Most of the "truths" that Peattie extends about the expedition are identical to those submitted in previous interpretations of the mission. The title Forward the

Nation, for example, verbalizes and legitimates concepts of manifest destiny. Allowing for little ambiguity in the meaning of the expedition, the title testifies that the momentous journey was not just a single event in American history. It also indicates that the trip symbolized the continuous, inexorable process of "civilizing" the continent, reminding readers that America moved, not only westward, but also "forward" as western wildernesses became part of the nation. Peattie reinforces these ideas in the narrative also. As he writes, "Lewis and Clark went forth, not to conquer, only to find the way in which a peaceful nation might march, by home and farm, by mill and mine, to the western sea that Nature set it for a boundary" (40). As Peattie's title and text report, the continent belonged to the United States.

In this passage, Peattie additionally describes the subsequent history of the region. Denying any negative intentionality on the part of the captains, and thus by extension the "peaceful nation," he fails to mention who was vanquished. Just as in many other works about the expedition, Peattie ignores native existence prior to the mission. Neither do settlers carry out the mandates of manifest destiny. Rather, the nation, through the personified "home and farm" and "mill and mine," marches toward the sea. In addition to decontextualizing the actors in this vision, Peattie offers an illogical reversal of cause and effect. The products of "civilization" appear to drive the process and not to result from it. Assuring America that it was justified in occupying the continent, Peattie engages in the cultural work Fisher describes. He rehearses the inevitability of the westward "march," and he

encourages the culture to forget the realities of that conquest.

In addition to reflecting notions of manifest destiny, Peattie embraces the dichotomy of civilization and savagery throughout his work. Illustrating typical conflation of native peoples into a single ignoble savagery, Peattie claims that the "Indian" is an "alloy" of deceit, venality, and cowardice. Further defining all natives as male, the novelist claims that "he" is a creature whose loyalty ran no deeper than "mere advantage" (56). In stark contrast with this typical savage, Lewis and Clark and the other men of the Corps are above such petty considerations. Representatives of civilization, they aspire to complete America's destiny on the continent.

In a novel about America's glorious mission on the continent, amidst common notions of savagery and civilization, Peattie relates the story of Sacagawea. Acknowledging his indebtedness to Grace Raymond Hebard, Peattie writes one of the few male-created texts that mentions Sacagawea's childhood and old age. In spite of the potential for a broader narrative, he offers only cursory remarks about Sacagawea except within the context of the expedition. Similar to other facets of his novel, Peattie rehearses some typical conceptions about Sacagawea, but he also relates new commentaries as he advances a subplot of a potential romance.

Like previous texts, Peattie establishes that Sacagawea is not a common savage. Physically distinct from other native women, the petite Sacagawea has a lovely face and obsidian, almond-shaped eyes. She is "beautiful," even by "white

standards" (6, 72, 83). She is also bright and energetic, not a squaw who has been cowed by harsh treatment and the burdens of savage existence (70). Once the expedition members reach Fort Mandan, Lewis recognizes that this exceptional woman will help them in the wilderness. Fulfilling that function, Sacagawea "concerns herself thus earnestly over the men's comfort" (111). She also points out landmarks, saves essential instruments and medicines during the squall, and helps Clark to find a route through the mountains (108, 111, 122). As Peattie proclaims, Sacagawea "will be remembered as long as Americans love their country, for in its history no other woman ever served it better" (109). In these notations and others, Peattie reiterates the Sacagawea legend.

Interposed among these accolades, however, are commentaries that diminish Sacagawea's heroic stature. Lewis, for example, reminds himself that Sacagawea is still "an alien, and a slave" (73). In other passages, she is described as a "little savage" and a "Stone Age woman" (11, 89). While Peattie employs many strategies of Sacagawea's progressive era proponents, as he attempts to separate Sacagawea from savage masses and as he vaunts her accomplishments, this text delineates that Sacagawea is savage. Peattie also expands the argument of her savagery. As he contends, Sacagawea is a savage and therefore part of nature. She is described as a "small captive animal" and a "she-animal and her cub" when she nurses her baby (70, 134). Extending his logic, Peattie reasons that since Sacagawea is savage and part of nature, she is particularly suited to serve the needs

of the expedition. Because she was "born a piece of aboriginal American Nature," (122) Sacagawea's heritage assures that "civilized" men of the Corps will survive in her wilderness.

Commentary about the character of women affects Peattie's estimates of Sacagawea's heroism as well. He contends, for example, that a man acts in his own interests or out of loyalty to a cause. He nevertheless concludes that a woman,

> seldom has any genuine attachment to a cause. It is a man she follows, and she espouses whatever cause he upholds . . . In serving, she serves him; this is her single purpose; this is her strength. For him, she will walk barefoot on thorns, and carry great weights upon her back. (56-7)

Not limiting his remarks to savages, Peattie indicates that no woman is capable of recognizing the importance of any meaningful crusade. Circumscribed by nature to simple understandings of a narrow sphere, a woman responds to the world only thorough the filter of her man's dreams and loyalties. Arguing that no female is competent to comprehend, much less act upon, allegiance to a cause, Peattie rejects the explanation that Sacagawea's devotion to manifest destiny spurred her to action during the expedition. Incompetent to understand important cultural meanings, Sacagawea becomes the "other."[18] Peattie combines comments about Sacagawea's sex with illustrations of her savagery and thus portrays a doubly removed "other." Not simply alien because she is a native, Sacagawea is also isolated from "culture" and "civilization" because she is a woman.

In conjunction with his pronouncements about savagery and womanhood,

Peattie specifically explores motivations for Sacagawea's cooperation during the expedition. As he asserts, Sacagawea was helpful since she finally discovered a man that was worth her love and devotion. Sacagawea's husband cannot exact her affection because of his savage brutality. Charbonneau kicks and hits Sacagawea numerous times during the trip (74, 125-6, 218-9). He additionally horrifies the entire Corps when he offers her sexual services to any men that wants her for the evening (144-5). In keeping with Coues's estimate of Charbonneau, Peattie writes that this squawman's immersion in savage life has brought him to the lowest levels of civilization. Although he quite literally possesses Sacagawea, such a product of cultural degradation cannot seize her heart.

Vulnerable because of her savage existence and her marriage to a brute, Sacagawea discovers a civilized man of noble spirit. Adding a subplot not hinted at by progressive era proponents, Henry proposes that Sacagawea falls in love with Lewis. This captain's virtues are so apparent, in spite of his stern, reserved manner, that he instantly commands all of Sacagawea's emotion. During their first meeting, "Sacajawea felt a strange new thing she had not felt for any man" (78). Although the exact nature of this "strange new thing" remains undefined in this passage, Peattie titillates the audience with a potential romance. Almost at the same moment, however, he attempts to quash those intimations as he asserts that the sensation overpowering Sacagawea is "loyalty" and "devotion" (78, 94).

Despite assurances of the platonic nature of Sacagawea's emotion, other

reference imply that she experiences a different kind of feeling. During that first meeting, for example, Peattie claims that her loyalty was "conceived as suddenly as life" and that it was "as vigorous in her" as her unborn baby (78). While a metaphoric "conception" need not point to a sexual response, the connection becomes more perceptible and plausible when Peattie writes that Sacagawea "secreted" this "strange new passion" in her heart (94). She pledges her soul to Lewis. These excerpts combine to create a sense that the depth and intensity of her emotions are more than allegiance can contain. At the end of her life, when she recalls that she acted from "love of a man--a white man" (233), Sacagawea substantiates that conclusion.

Despite some ambiguities in the nature of Sacagawea's emotions, Peattie never veers from assertions of Lewis's feelings toward her. He mentions that Lewis becomes "more human" as he interacts with Sacagawea (134). In spite of this concession, Peattie summarizes Lewis's response as nothing more than "gratitude" for her single mindedness during the entire mission (233). Not for one moment does he respond to Sacagawea in the same way she perceives him. He is superior, too removed from her savage world, to consider Sacagawea as a romantic partner. As far as Lewis is concerned, she is instead the key "of truest metal" that was "shaped to fit an intricate lock" of the expedition (55). Through the use of the passive voice, Peattie suggests that Sacagawea's objectivation is nearly absolute. Despite his praise of the woman's "metal," Lewis sees her not as a person but

simply as a tool. She becomes a device molded by external powers for his purposes. Not important as a person, much less a potential lover, Sacagawea is the means to accomplish the goals of the expedition and to serve the nation's best interests.

Donald Culross Peattie thus delineates a character that is far different from the heroic champion portrayed in progressive era texts. Not only confining her to the ambiguous position of the somewhat admirable, though obviously inferior, savage, this novelist also defines Sacagawea as an insipid, dependent woman. Even within the confines of those meanings, however, Sacagawea is further reduced since the man she adores does not return her love. Although Peattie celebrates the fact that "the continent, like a flag, was fully unfurled" (248) because of Sacagawea's efforts, he claims that she does not really understand the flag or its significance. No longer is she a heroine of inner strength and fortitude, the woman upon whom the suffragettes focused for inspiration. Undercutting much of the praise he offers, Peattie portrays Sacagawea as less a heroine than she has been depicted in any other narrative since writers initiated the legend in the progressive era.

Accepting some of the "truths" Peattie relates about the expedition and about Sacagawea , Della Gould Emmons nonetheless rejects others in her novel Sacajawea of the Shoshones. Born in Minnesota, Emmons became a music teacher and drama coach in a town adjacent to a Sioux reservation in South Dakota. She later moved to Washington state where she wrote and produced pageants, plays, and novels. In

Sacajawea of the Shoshones, her most acclaimed work, Emmons centers the text around the story of the native woman. Citing Dye and Hebard as her sources, Emmons portrays Sacagawea from the time of her childhood among the Shoshones to her old age at the Wind River Reservation. Since all passages embracing manifest destiny are inextricably tied to the story of this native woman in this novel, Emmons perpetuates assertions about Sacagawea's American heroism. She also expands upon that tradition.

Like her predecessors, Emmons excludes Sacagawea from ignoble savagery by indicating her royal heritage (8) and by delineating her physical attributes. In accord with mythic precepts concerning Indian princesses, Sacagawea is vivacious and pretty with a luminous, sweet face (16, 183). Her skin was lighter than most natives, no darker that the hand of a tanned trader (57). Also possessing exceptional intelligence and energy (38 passim), just as Peattie describes, this Sacagawea's superiority is so evident that Lewis and Clark immediately recognize her value. And again like Peattie's subject, Emmons's heroine fulfills their expectations. Vowing that she will help in every way and pledges never to burden them, this woman digs artichokes, sews moccasins, and performs innumerable other tasks (156-7, passim). She also saves the mission on several occasions, including the time she guides Clark through the mountains. In another incident, when Sacagawea sees items drifting in the river during the squall, she acts,

Those prized possessions! What matter if there was danger. She must save

> all that she could. Like lightening she worked. Quickly she grasped one here, two there . . . she tucked them into her lap and reached for more, oblivious to personal danger. (166)

As Lewis proclaims, "we must not forget that our success was due largely to Sacajawea . . . I pray God that we will always remember it" (245). Acting rather than acted upon, Sacagawea is intrepid and capable.

Although these portions of Emmons's text do not depart significantly from Dye's account in The Conquest, other commentaries delineate important changes to the narrative. Emmons, for instance, incorporates the subplot of a potential romance between Sacagawea and a truly civilized man. Employing strategies similar to Peattie's, Emmons justifies Sacagawea's feeling by enumerating Charbonneau's deficiencies. A much older man of forty-three, Charbonneau rapes Sacagawea when she is only fifteen (85). He demonstrates his cowardice throughout the mission, and he also slaps and beats her (71, 148, 166, 203). Such actions differentiate Sacagawea's "master" from other men of the Corps.

Although Peattie contends that Sacagawea idolizes Lewis, Emmons and nearly every other writer embracing the romantic story submit that she adores Clark. This tall, square-shouldered, handsome man with red hair and blue eyes (79) is Sacagawea's chivalrous knight. Seeing that she is pregnant, he tries to help her with the heavy bison robes (100). He protects her during the journey (157) and chides Charbonneau for striking her (203). As Emmons contends, Clark's first "look of understanding and sympathy turned Little Bird Woman's starved heart over

and over and upset her world then and there so completely that it changed the remainder of her long life" (100). From that moment on, Sacagawea's heart and soul belong to Clark. Constantly watching him "with a worshipping look" (132), Sacagawea sees him as "her God" (183). For hundreds of pages, Emmons illustrates Sacagawea's devotion to the captain.

While Peattie depicts a man that is unaffected by Sacagawea's presence and attentions, Emmons denies that interpretation. When Clark gives Sacagawea a beaded belt, for example, he is "stirred by the depth of her emotion; he felt as though he had touched a delicate instrument of infinite sweetness and a melody unforgettable and lonely vibrated within his innermost being" (124). At another point during the trip, he is awed by the picturesque scene of the "young mother and her babe" (159). Employing similar language to Dye's, Emmons associates Sacagawea with the Madonna in this and other passages. She concurrently demonstrates that Clark is affected by Sacagawea's presence. Unlike the remote Lewis, Clark does not see her as merely a means to an end or a tool to accomplish the mission. She is a person.

Despite her inclusion of the love story, Emmons does not allow Sacagawea's heroism to be diminished. She adores Clark, but that emotion does not reduce her to an object. Nor do those feelings define the totality of her existence. Since Clark and the expedition serve as catalysts for a discovery of more comprehensive meanings about the nature of savagery and civilization, Sacagawea's affection is

only a contributing factor to her heroic actions during the journey and for the remainder of her life. Clark, for instance, teaches her that women deserve better treatment than savagery allows (109, 159). Civilized men relieve women of their burdens and apportion them dignity. More importantly, Sacagawea learns that all native peoples will benefit from civilization's penetration of the continent. Just before her capture, the twelve year old Sacagawea perceives that her people are starving. Speaking with determination, she asserts that "'A way must be found to free us from hunger and fear'" (original emphasis, 6). While the young girl recognizes the problems of wilderness existence, only through her exposure to civilized people does she come to understand that savagery is inherently flawed.

As Sacagawea discovers, "civilization" will abrogate those faults. Extending her reverence beyond Clark, Sacagawea embraces the entire Corps and their mission into the wilderness. She embarks on the journey, not simply from love of a single man, but from her knowledge that he and his kind will change the continent. As Emmons writes, Sacagawea's "heart was singing, her face alight with worship for these white men going to her people, going to send traders the them, going to free them from hunger and fear" (106). Answering questions that progressive era proponents left unasked, Emmons argues that Sacagawea learned about the justice of manifest destiny through the men of the expedition.

Emmons furthermore illustrates that Sacagawea's allegiance persists and even grows. While holding a Jefferson medal, she prays to the "white man's God"

after the Fort Mandan departure of the Corps. As she pleads for guidance,

> The Great White Father extended his hand and in warm friendship clasped hers and said, "My daughter, you have served me well. Your people are now my children. Continue your work for them. I pledge you help and protection." (264)

Employing typical rhetoric of manifest destiny, Emmons adopts phrases like "Great White Father" and "my daughter" in reference to Jefferson and Sacagawea. This president, like others that preceded him, is the mythic paternal benefactor of all native peoples. They are his "children."

In this passage, Emmons emphasizes other concepts also. As Jefferson physically emerges from the medal to answer Sacagawea's prayers, Emmons overlaps religious and political imagery and fuses their meanings. Sacagawea registers no difficulty in accepting Jefferson as a God. Nor does she indicate dissonance in interpreting manifest destiny as a religion, or at least in welcoming its sacred purposes. Embracing these concepts for her lifetime, Sacagawea returns to the Shoshones in her old age to teach them to plant and to tell them about their "white friends" (304). As she exhorts, the Shoshone must now demonstrate their sincerest gratitude for the "protection of the American flag." They must adapt to the white man's life (314). Sacagawea thus enters into the cultural conversation that was most applicable to Emmons's own era. She argues for native assimilation.

Della Gould Emmons proliferates the notion that Sacagawea was an American heroine. She illustrates that this native woman cooperates during the

mission, guides the men through the mountains, and later tries to bring civilization to the savages. Reaching an audience unlikely touched by Hebard's scholarly tome, Emmons's novel disseminates the story of Sacagawea's admirable and more comprehensive heroism to a broad readership.[19] As she enlarges the context of the Sacagawea narrative and extends it audience, so too does Emmons enlarge the legend.

Peattie and Emmons thus present very different heroines. Despite certain dissimilarities, nevertheless, both novelists investigate an important aspect of frontier myths that intersected the Sacagawea narrative. As Emmons and Peattie introduce a potential romance, they explore possible means of accomplishing native assimilation and acculturation, goals openly endorsed in American culture. Since intermarriage would appear to be a logical extension of assimilationist thinking, these writers test social restrictions against miscegenation.

The issue of interracial mixing has always been an integral aspect of the American discourse on assimilation and acculturation. As Werner Sollors argues in Beyond Ethnicity, intermarriage was an important adjunct of the melting pot. Adding that Pocahontas epitomized the abolition of "prejudices of descent," he claims that through her, Americans established "a new fictional line of noble Indian ancestry" (72, 79). In The Return of the Vanishing American, Leslie Fiedler concurs, declaring that Pocahontas has served as a "symbol of White man's reconciliation with our land and its first inhabitants " (64). Including Sacagawea in

his argument, Fiedler proclaims that both Indian princesses provided a "lovely American dream" that washed away fears of miscegenation in a single, cleansing metaphor (86).

Historical evidence and cultural texts, including those embracing the Sacagawea legend, nonetheless counter such claims. Even though he illustrates the positive results of intermarriage between a Jew and a Christian in his play The Melting Pot, Israel Zangwill acknowledges that American culture prohibited interracial relationships (qtd. in Sollors, Beyond Ethnicity 71). Illustrating such restrictions, many states prohibited African-American and/or indigenous peoples from marrying Euro-Americans.[20] Commenting on this issue in "A Plea for Fictional Histories and Old-Time 'Jewesses,'" Alide Cagidemetrio asserts that Sir Walter Scott and James Fenimore Cooper also embraced, reiterated, and justified taboos of miscegenation. Several of Scott's English heroes, for instance, married Scottish women, and those unions resulted in a strengthening of disparate traditions. In one narrative, however, that beneficial match was possible only after the hero cast aside the beautiful and alluring Jewess Rebecca.

Cagidemetrio further claims that several of Cooper's plots, including The Last of the Mohicans, also hinged upon an obsession with racial purity. Black or native "blood," according to Cooper, was neither noble nor redeemable. Too much the "other," the noble, albeit alien, Indian princess does not illustrate the coalescence of different races. She instead verifies restrictions against such mixing.

As Clark Wissler writes in Red Man Reservation, although Pocahontas and Smith were paired romantically in a profusion of American texts, John Rolfe, not the gallant captain, became her husband. Wissler further asserts that works delineating Smith's heroism denigrate Rolfe since the latter succumbs to the seductive temptations of the wilderness (183).[21] In these literary works and others, writers point out the limits of acculturation.

The concept of miscegenation has pervaded American films as well.[22] Silent movies, for instance, paired 37% of Indian princesses with Euro-American men. These figures remained relatively stable in the 1930s and 1940s, and in the 1950s[23] and 1960s, as 28% and 35% of later princesses, respectively, were involved with "civilized" males.[24] Although many films have delineated the prospect of such relationships, interracial romance ends tragically in 100% of these stories. Film princesses have a special ability to recognize the superiority of the Euro-American men and their culture, but their love cannot come to fruition because of taboos of miscegenation.

Peattie and Emmons also uphold such cultural proscriptions as they depict Sacagawea's relationship with either Lewis or Clark. Since he clearly delineates Sacagawea's savagery and Lewis's emotional indifference to her, Peattie does not appear to suggest that such a romance is even remotely possible. Other commentaries, interjected throughout Forward the Nation, nevertheless point out the potent sexuality of this young, native woman. Her body, and in particular her

breasts, become the focus in several scenes. Aware of her physical presence, Lewis notices that she reveals the "round bronze apple of her breast" when she feeds the baby (121). In another scene, the captain observes that Sacagawea's breasts possess "a brave young lift to them" (148). She is not simply the mother nurturer but also a sexual being, according to these notations, and the novelist does not entirely eliminate the possibility of Lewis's involvement with Sacagawea. Although Peattie hints at a potential romance, he ultimately declares that interracial relationships are unacceptable. Writing of Sacagawea, he declares that "In her own blood ran an unalterable devotion to them . . . the marriage of the American soul with the soul of aboriginal America" (236). Offering the only acceptable alternative to the obscenity of interracial mixing, Peattie condones a "marriage" of disparate souls, but not of bodies.

Emmons also examines the concept of miscegenation in Sacagawea of the Shoshones. Less circumspect than Peattie in her exploration, Emmons admits that Clark is affected by Sacagawea. As Clark has contact with this marvelous woman, he becomes emotionally involved, and in several scenes he seems prepared to put aside disparities of heritage. Disconcerted by his feelings for Sacagawea, Clark questions if race is so important. He asks, "was she so different temperamentally from a white girl" (135)? Continuing this examination in a dream, he visualizes "a bewitching composite" of a civilized woman and the "savage Sacajawea" (137). Despite his musing, Clark answers his own question. The difference not only

exists; it is too important to challenge. Engaging in the discussion that has absorbed American culture, Clark arrives at the commonly-held conclusion. Since savagery demarcates Sacagawea from himself and civilization, Clark cannot cross the barriers of race. Emmons consequently assures her audience that Sacagawea "aroused" "chivalry" in Clark (136). Other emotions would be unacceptable.

As previously described, the heroine of this tale embraces manifest destiny and accepts the superiority of "civilization." Her most disturbing discovery, according to Emmons, was acknowledging the evil of miscegenation. From the time the Corps arrives, she possesses a vague awareness of cultural contrasts, and she "sighed at the impassable canyon that yawned between" herself and Clark (157). Until she learns that the "canyon" is legitimately "impassable," however, Sacagawea hopes to win him. Thrilled by Clark's protective embrace after the flash flood, she asks him why he rescued her. When he states that any "self-respecting civilized man" would have done the same thing, her "glow died slowly out and left her cold and weary. Gently, but firmly, she drew away from him" (189). Despite her pain, Sacagawea accepts that the chasm between savagery and civilization must never be breached.

Emmons thus tests the concept of interracial mixing. Because Clark is civilized and Sacagawea is not, Emmons concludes that such a relationship must not be consummated despite the native woman's heroism. The noble captain is acutely aware of the tenets. Although she cannot cross or erase racial lines, Sacagawea's

innate wisdom and superiority ironically assure that she can learn that restrictions against miscegenation are just. Arriving at the same conclusion that Peattie and so many others have before her, Emmons thus illustrates that interracial relationships are unconscionable.

Twenty years after Emmons and Peattie produced their texts, Will Henry published The Gates of the Mountains,[25] his version of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Writing under the pen name Will Henry, Henry Wilson Allen grew up in Missouri and eventually moved to California where he has written many novels illustrating events from the nation's history. The winner of the Spur Award of the Western Writers of America, Wrangler Award of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame, and the Levi Straus Golden Saddleman Award, Henry has focused on the "great westward expansion" (np). The Gates of the Mountains exemplifies Henry's interest in western history and his fascination with America's cultural heroine, Sacagawea.

Seemingly unconcerned about advancing intricate details of the trip or restricting himself to "truths" proposed in previous scripts, Henry presents his novel from the view point of a "half-breed" narrator, Frank Rivet. Though no one by that name or description actually accompanied the Corps of Discovery, this character allows Henry to explore cultural meanings of the expedition. Frank, for example, highlights questions about the nature of savagery and civilization since he is half-Pawnee and half-French.[26] In addition, the narrator becomes one part of a

romantic triangle. Frank loves Sacagawea, but she adores Clark. Through this love story, Henry not only illustrates and examines previous assertions concerning Sacagawea's royalty and her savagery, but he also explores miscegenation.

Henry delineates distinct cultural levels throughout The Gates of the Mountains. Assessing various peoples' positions based on their purported level of "civilization," Henry provides an image of a cultural "ladder." Although this metaphoric vision generally implies movement, no group or individual climbs or descends Henry's ladder, because status is established by birthright. Lewis and Clark and other "civilized" men of the expedition are fixed at the top. At the opposite extreme are aboriginals that the Corps meet during the journey. Even though natives are all savages, Henry asserts that even that classification has gradations. The Sioux, for example, are the most savage (71) while the Mandans are nearly civilized (113).

Through the character Frank, Henry illustrates that a "half-breed" is neither savage nor civilized. Struggling to find his appropriate "rung" throughout the novel, Frank suffers from rootlessness and isolation. As Lewis and Clark discuss the prospects of hiring Frank for the expedition, they illustrate American feelings about the products of interracial relationships. Lewis claims that Frank is tainted by "heathen impurities" (11). Although Clark attempts to counter Lewis's comments by asserting that the young man is also half Rivet, with "good, strong and steady" blood, Lewis argues that nothing can redeem the menace of a mixed

heritage (12). Dismissed from civilization because of his birth, Frank is nonetheless higher on the cultural "ladder" than any native. While this might appear favorable, Frank has no identity, no people of his own.

The only other character who shares Frank's predicament is Sacagawea. Examining the ambiguities of her position, Henry questions whether she is a savage or a princess or if she can be classified at all. The narrator interacts with Sacagawea, he observes her associations with others, and in every case he interprets her and her actions. According to Frank, this native woman is the prototypical Indian princess in every way. Unlike the "lean and hungry-looking she-weasel" Otter Woman, Sacagawea is beautiful and compelling (120). Providing extensive physical details, Frank describes her as slender with a small, round "Caucasian-shaped head" and "Caucasian features." The short, straight nose and soft, well-shaped mouth deny Sacagawea's native heritage. Her hair is a "rare dark auburn," and her skin is so light that "each blush was to be seen . . . as vividly as in the face of the fairest French or American girl." As the narrator testifies, Sacagawea's eyes are neither black nor brown, but gray with a "certain hint of green-blue seen in deep clear water" (126). Just like every other writer since the turn of the century, Henry delineates a woman who looks Euro-American.

Frank declares repeatedly that Sacagawea is "not at all like an Indian" (126 passim). Peerless among savages, possessing qualities "no Indian maiden ever knew," Sacagawea is "a regal woman by any standard" (126). She has "no crown

but her auburn hair, no gemmed circlet save the brightness of her smile, no scepter but the crude stone" (127). Such descriptions undoubtedly prompted Raymond Stedman's remarks that Henry's novel constitutes one of the best examples of "sheer adoration" of Indian princesses in American literature (30). According to Frank, Sacagawea is an incomparable Indian princess.

Henry does not permit Frank's assessment of Sacagawea to stand unchallenged, however. Questioning previous assertions of Sacagawea's royalty and superiority, Henry emphasizes what previous Sacagawea texts have not, the concept that perception precedes interpretation. Frank's descriptions of the princess and his understandings of her actions are not automatically valid because he knows her and has interacted with her. Instead his meanings become suspect since he is obviously in awe of her.

As Frank later discovers, not all the men of the Corps see Sacagawea as he does. Lewis states, for instance, that she is "a simple savage employed at government expense to gain us an audience with the Shoshone Indians" (217). In keeping with other texts that attempt to decipher Lewis's responses to Sacagawea, Henry illustrates that the captain objectifies her. Clark also apparently shares some of Lewis's perceptions. As he tells Frank, she is a "squaw, a Shoshone slave, serving an aged French white who bought her and worked her" (286). These "civilized" men observe a woman whose position on the cultural "ladder" is far below their own.

The most vivid portrait of Sacagawea's savagery is not supplied by Lewis or Clark, however. Instructed by Clark to look at her carefully, to see the realities of her life, Frank eventually realizes that she is a woman "in full Shoshone pigments" (286). She does not look like the same person he thought he had beheld. Her face is elongated, her nose is bridged higher, and her cheekbones are more pronounced. Neither does Sacagawea act like a princess. Chewing burley tobacco "as contently as any buffalo cow," she spits into the fire and dribbles brown juice down her chin. Moments after she plays with a puppy, Sacagawea "knocked out its brains on the nearest cottonwood and dropped it still jerking--ungutted, unskinned" into the stew pot (286-7). When he sees the "real" Sacagawea and the gulf between her existence and civilized life, Frank is disgusted by the scene. He realizes that she is savage.

Delineating extreme portrayals of Sacagawea, Henry questions previous interpretations of this American heroine. Is she is the extraordinary princess or the repulsive squaw? As he stresses, both definitions are imperfect, incomplete, inherently flawed. Although Frank eventually realizes that the first woman never existed, except in his own imagination, he at first believes that his comprehension of her savagery is accurate. He later discovers that Sacagawea "was never the dream of beauty which I had seen . . . No more was she in actuality the brute female shown by the campfire" (301). Providing his protagonist with this insight, Henry accentuates the concept of perception. Since observations are filtered through individual "realities," perceptions are conditional. All comprehension, as

well as all interpretation, is thus contingent. As Henry insists, Sacagawea is neither squaw nor princess.

Will Henry approaches the character of Sacagawea, in addition to her legendary status as an American heroine, in a way that no other text has done. By demonstrating that context affects text and by questioning whether anyone can really know and understand another human being because of the importance of perception, Henry casts doubts on previous understandings of this native woman. Henry's conclusions about Sacagawea fall short of an absolute denial of meaning, however, since depictions of her intersect with another concern. Although he stresses that Sacagawea is neither princess nor brute squaw, Henry does not extend his theories about perception into the realm of socially-constructed understandings of savagery and civilization. These classifications, unlike Sacagawea's character, are not contingent. As he illustrates throughout his work, each group occupies a fixed position on the cultural "ladder," and each individual knows his/her place through group identity. Clark has his position, and natives occupy their respective rungs, depending upon fixed factors that indicate their level of savagery. As Henry maintains unequivocal categories and as he furthermore highlights the love triangle of Frank, Sacagawea, and Clark, he explores the implications of interracial relationships.

Like Emmons's heroine, Henry's Sacagawea adores Clark. When she "gazes" at the captain's handsome face for the first time, Sacagawea claims that

"fire leaped" in her heart (128). That love grows as Clark saves her life, as well as her baby's, during the breech delivery (145-6).[27] Although Henry provides a great deal of evidence illustrating Sacagawea's attachment to Clark, her desires are not as important to this tale as the effect she has on both Clark and the narrator. Their responses provide the framework for an analysis of miscegenation.

Despite his perception of Sacagawea's savagery, Clark is not impervious to her presence. According to Frank, when Clark first meets Sacagawea, "that granite carving of a man" felt her power and trembled to it (118). Later Clark admits that she was "enough to uncenter any man alive" (133). Although he is aware of her allure, Clark is also acutely conscious of the "reality" of his situation. He is a civilized man and the nation's ambassador, and she is a savage woman. Any entanglements with her would be indecent. Reflecting on a conversation he has had with Clark, Frank asserts that Sacagawea's feelings for the captain are unimportant because Clark thinks first of his men and the mission, and "no Indian girl would change that" (133). As he refers to Sacagawea's "Indianness," Henry emphasizes that if Clark succumbs to the lure of savagery, he could never fulfill his duties to the mission. The gallant captain gently tells Sacagawea that he could never love her in "an untrue way," the way a man loves a woman (210). Although Clark never explains why their love would be "untrue," the reason is clear. It is not because of Charbonneau who is virtually none existent in this text, but because of cultural prohibitions.

The story of the narrator's adoration for Sacagawea is quite different from the tale of her passion for Clark. When Frank meets the "tawny" princess, he is instantly smitten. As he proclaims, "I loved her . . . my hear stopped beating. For other women, from that moment, it never beat again." (118) Although Sacagawea confesses that she adores Clark and in spite of his vow to forget her, Frank loves Sacagawea throughout the novel. At the end of the novel, they are united in an idyllic scene. While some might view this subplot as nothing more than a attempt to satisfy the reader's desire for a happy ending, Henry registers much more. Contrasting impossible love with one that is possible, the novelist delineates and justifies strictures against interracial relationships.

Like Clark, Frank is aware of and responsive to the dichotomy of savagery and civilization and to the taboos of miscegenation. Since Frank is a half-breed and because Sacagawea is neither savage nor civilized, his feelings are not truncated by cultural prohibitions. Facing two "truths," Frank realizes that "Sacajawea could no more be his [Clark's] mate in reality than I could be his [Clark's] son" (129). In this sentence, Frank summarizes the ambiguity of his own position on the cultural "ladder" and reiterates his acceptance of the proscriptions against interracial relationships. He can love Sacagawea because he too is not civilized.

Other passages in the novel reverberate with messages about the differences between savagery and civilization. Prior to his participation in the expedition, for example, the narrator realizes that, as a half-breed in a civilized world, he has no

people. He witnesses a contrasting vision in the midst of their travels, however. As he asserts, no one was classified; no one was an "Indian" or a "half-breed." Rather, they were all "Americans together" (304). Projecting the promise of cultural pluralism, Frank declares that each person was indeed distinct, and he affirms that those differences did not repudiate the shared identity of being Americans. Frank's experiences arise from ritual. As Victor Turner contends in Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors, because ritual participants are detached from fixed social structures, they enter a "liminal" phase, which creates a state of "communitas." During liminality, previously fixed classifications no longer adhere and "equality and comradeship" become the norm (232).

Although Frank wishes that the journey could last forever, he knows that this "equality and comradeship" will end with the mission. As Turner explains, rituals are temporary, and social positions are re-established after the liminal period ceases. While many ritual participants welcome the re-confirmation of previous statuses, Frank does not. Turner claims that "marginals," including such people as those of mixed heritage, "have no cultural assurance of a final stable resolution of their ambiguity" (233). Summarizing his own dilemma, Frank knows that when the ritual ends, he will once again be the "half-breed," not a member of the Corps, not an American.

In light of these conditions, Frank's choice to live with Sacagawea at the end of the journey illustrates and reinforces collective notions about savagery and

civilization and interracial mixing. Prior to his decision, he asks himself a series of questions. Should he live in the "white man's" world, destined to be as miserable as he had been before because, as an emblem of the monstrous results of miscegenation, he would never belong? Should he stay among the natives, adopting a people he has not viewed as his own? Arriving at the only logical conclusion in a world that ranks people on a cultural "ladder" and affixes them to a particular position according to their racial heritage, Frank realizes that natives are "his people" (303). He leaps from the expedition boat into Sacagawea's arms not simply from love but from a desperate need to belong.

Henry thus emphasizes how intensely people within a culture, and even those considered outside it, cling to "realities" that the dominant culture constructs. Such traditions not only indicate significant differences among social systems and classify them according to certain criteria, but they also promote codes of behaviors based on those categories. Shared understandings of the dichotomy of savagery and civilization prevail in this novel. Even from his marginalized position, Frank knows that Clark must not consider Sacagawea as a potential lover because both men have internalized social classifications and their meanings. For the same reasons, the narrator realizes he may consummate his passion. Since Henry delineates the marginality of both Sacagawea and Frank and since civilization cannot absorb or accept that marginality, their position on the cultural continuum is within savagery. Endorsing the "one drop" theory of racial identity, Henry verifies

that American "civilization" denied miscegenation as a legitimate means of creating a "melting pot" nation.

Henry concurrently explores the possibilities of cultural pluralism. As he delineates Frank's vision of complete and perfect equality during the expedition, with diverse participants sharing hardships and offering unique knowledge and skills, Henry appears to endorse cultural pluralism. Despite what seems to be a promise for America's future, lapses in the text disprove the validity of that potential. If the communitas of the mission were so powerful and so pervasive, if the breakdown of social institutions were complete, distinctions between savagery and civilization would not have applied during the journey. Culturally-constructed restrictions against miscegenation would not have directed Clark's and other members' attitudes and behaviors. Even though Frank admits that this state of shared "Americanness" is temporary, that ephemeral moment of bliss never really occurred. Frank's vision is flawed by his own desire to belong. Henry thus documents that cultural pluralism is perhaps nothing more than wish-fulfillment.

Paralleling his denials of the efficacy of the melting pot and skepticism of cultural pluralism, Henry highlights Sacagawea. While he provides little commentary about her specific activities and accomplishments during the mission, he nonetheless delineates that she is an American heroine. As Frank summarizes, "We were the strangers in her land. Unto us she was bidden by her inner light to show the way, to lead us through the wilderness, to guide us and go with us" (301).

Advancing her legendary attributes of helpfulness and guidance, Henry also implies that some innate "inner light" causes her to act. Sacagawea was "beyond the imaginations of either captain to ensnare, or any of us to describe" (302). As Henry suggests, this American heroine belongs to legend.

He also extends the meanings of Sacagawea's presence. Informed by that inner light, this native woman never struggles against her heritage. She accepts her position on the cultural "ladder" with grace and calm. Not simply the guide to the Corps during their physical travels, she is an additional guide, the spiritual mentor to the young half-breed. She helps Frank to understand and embrace his own situation as well. Upholding the legitimacy of the dichotomy of savagery and civilization, she realizes that pluralism is impossible, and she persuades others to accept their destinies.

Although every text from the 1940s through the 1960s proclaimed that Sacagawea was an American heroine, proponents nonetheless offered variations to and elaboration of the legend. As DeVoto writes in The Course of Empire, no evidence verifies that Sacagawea had a love affair with any member of the Corps of Discovery. Neither has anyone discovered materials indicating that she wished for a relationship. From the time Peattie first intimated the connection, nonetheless, the love story has assumed the air of "truth" in novels, histories, and articles. While some critics may argue that such information provides one more scrap of the "realities" of the native woman's life and of her motivations during the mission,

that plot has also influenced the Sacagawea legend.

Each text presenting the love story also delineated the nature of Sacagawea's heroism. Works claiming that her emotional attachment inspired activities during the expedition reduced the significance of Sacagawea's accomplishments. Others embraced the romance but connected that sentiment to Sacagawea's discovery of the rectitude of manifest destiny. Asserting her devotion to the sacred mission and portraying her later advocacy of native assimilation, these texts extended Sacagawea's heroic stature. Whether devaluing or augmenting her contributions, such works do not overcome many of the ambiguities about savagery and civilization that were observed in previous works.

In connection with such predicaments, each text additionally explored an issue not addressed in the progressive era. Investigating the idea of a potential romance while maintaining the strict dichotomy between savagery and civilization, Sacagawea works examined taboos of miscegenation and upheld those proscriptions. Although American culture struggled with concepts of the melting pot and cultural pluralism in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, Sacagawea remained an American heroine, the useful emblem of manifest destiny. Still the essential helper in the wilderness during this period, she also became the superior native who recognized her place and acceded to cultural constraints against interracial mixing.

In the next chapter of this study, I investigate Sacagawea texts produced from 1970 to the present. A number of historians focused on issues of the

"fictions" proliferated in Sacagawea narratives. Continuing a movement begun in the late 1960s, these scholars investigated whether Sacagawea carried out actions that had been ascribed to her. Some cast doubt on the value of Sacagawea's participation in events that led to her renown.

At war with such revisionism, other Sacagawea texts have attempted to do the opposite. Created during the 1970s and 1980s, numerous popular works incorporated variations inscribed during the 1940s through the 1960s, especially the extended narrative and the love story. In this last period, Sacagawea texts also embraced varying purposes. Most continue to employ her image to justify the conquest of the continent and to demonstrate the differences between savagery and civilization. Combining that purpose with another goal, one work employs her character to investigate the "woman's place" in American culture. As justified frontier traditions were no longer able to contain discontinuities of frontier traditions, however, at least one script featuring Sacagawea interrogates assumptions associated with myths of manifest destiny. In all of these texts, Sacagawea remained the legendary American heroine of the West.

CHAPTER 5

THE SACAGAWEA LEGEND SINCE 1970: THE PROLIFERATION OF POPULAR TRADITIONS AND DISSENTING PORTRAYALS

Proponents of the Sacagawea legend offered variations of the narrative from the 1940s through the 1960s. While some writers extended the plot to incorporate the native woman's entire life, nearly every novelist delineated a love story. Critics might argue that such portrayals presented a more accessible and understandable Sacagawea, a woman who implicitly denied objectification or characterization as a lesser being. Certain texts of the era might have accomplished that goal. Others, especially those proposing that Sacagawea acted solely from a hopeless love for a civilized man, had the opposite effect. Such works instead diminished Sacagawea's stature and minimized the importance of her actions. In spite of particular narrative differences, diverse texts of the period granted that Sacagawea led the Corps of Discovery into unknown western wildernesses. They all proclaimed her "American" heroism.

The popularity of the Sacagawea legend thus did not abate from the 1940s through the 1960s. Histories, novels, monuments, a major motion picture, and other works reinforced common assumptions held by people who were already aware of Sacagawea's story. These works also introduced and disseminated the tale to populations that had not previously honored her. In the mid 1940s, for instance,

a group of Sacagawea's champions embarked on a publicity campaign. According to the news story, "Statue of Sakakawea May Be Put in Hall of Fame," proponents sought to erect a Sacagawea statue to stand among likenesses of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Daniel Webster on the New York University campus. Although the effort did not come to fruition, this crusade reinforced certain people's perceptions of the native woman and spread her renown to others.

Since 1970, writers, sculptors, and artists have offered a wealth of texts about Sacagawea. As in the previous era, scholars and creators have advanced diverse interpretations of the native woman and her actions. Historians, for example, have authored scores of articles and books that investigate issues of Sacagawea's existence, including the date and place of her death and the spelling, pronunciation, and meaning of her name. These researchers have additionally interpreted and re-interpreted evidence of Sacagawea's purported "guidance" of Clark during the mission.[1]

Two historical texts of the era, Harold Howard's Sacajawea and Ella Clark and Margot Edmonds's Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, devote pages to analysis of this question. As they ask, did Clark not already know the route since the Corps passed through the gap the previous year? Could he have simply flattered her importance when he wrote that she was his "pilot"? Did he not give her more credit than was her due? Arriving at different answers, Clark and Edmonds deny that Sacagawea was a guide while Howard asserts that although she

did not constitute "the" guide of the expedition, she led the party at certain critical moments.[2]

Despite controversies surrounding the details of Sacagawea's life and specific "truths" of her activities during the expedition, recent histories agree on one point. They unanimously praise Sacagawea's courage and heroism. Not only perpetuating the cultural discussion about this native woman, such works have also proliferated the Sacagawea legend. Lewis and Clark at the Great Divide, a film produced by CBS as part of the "You Are There Series" for young people, illustrates this dissemination. During the twenty-one minute program,[3] Walter Cronkite pops in and out of several vignettes, describing events and interviewing members of the Corps. Featured in the climactic moments of the film, Sacagawea arrives at the Shoshone camp, and members of the Corps discover that she is a princess. As Cronkite declares at the conclusion, Sacagawea was the guide to America's most important continental exploration, a true American heroine.

Justifying western conquests and delineating the bifurcation between savagery and civilization, most Sacagawea texts produced within the last two decades have maintained the connection between Sacagawea's story and sacred traditions of manifest destiny. While many refer to her as an Indian princess, they portray her physical, intellectual, and emotional preeminence, qualities that have been associated with that image. Works embracing Sacagawea during this period have thus primarily offered traditional narratives of an Indian princess, a character

who earned her title as an American heroine by helping civilized men in the savage wilderness.

Other cultural works have nevertheless demonstrated that frontier myths have not preserved their previous potency in America during this era. As events on the continent and around the world have raised questions about race and conquest, as visionaries have confronted such traditions more often and more vigorously during this period, the nation has engaged in a debate about frontier "realities." Countering secondary legitimations that attempted to sustain commonly-held assumptions, a number of works have offered other interpretations of the national mission and of native savagery. At least one script adopts the Sacagawea story to interrogate such "truths."

Because American populations embraced competing realities during this period, I first review events and cultural texts intersecting with and commenting on conflicted frontier traditions. I then examine three Sacagawea texts produced within the last two decades. Anna Lee Waldo's Sacajawea is an historical romance that proliferates typical notions about the legendary heroine. In addition to reiterating manifest destiny, Waldo explores concepts arising from the rebirth of the American feminist movement in the late 1960s and 1970s. Also featuring Sacagawea in this period, an advertisement for a plate from The Hamilton Collection reflects the most common version of the Sacagawea narrative. She is a beautiful, gentle, helpful, and cooperative Indian princess, an American heroine because of her actions in the

wilderness. In Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names, librettist William Borden and composer Thomas Peterson produce a musical drama that draws upon the story of an heroic woman. Unlike many proponents, they question assumptions of frontier traditions. In this iteration of the Sacagawea narrative, Borden and Peterson question the rectitude of America's conquest of the wilderness and query the inherent differences between peoples who encountered one another during the frontier period.

Like all cosmogonic myths, frontier traditions have been part of a complex, interactive, cultural process. Such narratives have created and reflected, as well as illustrating and reiterating, social knowledge. Although primary and implicit frontier myths sustained power to delineate cultural meanings and to define models of behavior for nearly two centuries, these stories could no longer wield totalizing potency as the nation underwent significant changes in the mid nineteenth century. Illustrating that the vitality of traditional narratives varies over time and demonstrating the compulsion to maintain mythic potency, secondary legitimations sought to contain new conditions within old systems of comprehension. As necessary adaptations emerged, they also caused further alterations in the needs and perceptions of individuals and the collective culture.

While rationalized myths accommodated large segments of the American population for decades, narratives justifying the sacred mission and upholding the dichotomy of savagery and civilization eventually lost their cultural consensus. No

longer able to suppress discontinuities highlighted by historical events and illustrated in cultural texts, myths of manifest destiny have competed with other stories of America's past. While this struggle undoubtedly began after World War II, frontier conceptions sustained some level of force for certain audiences, as evidenced by the popular reception of texts proliferating those realities. Within the last two decades, nonetheless, contrary "truths" have gained vitality. Large segments of the populace have questioned, if not rejected, traditional patterns of beliefs and behaviors.

Domestic and international events have facilitated cultural discussions and dissention since 1970. Although some people might not see the connection between frontier traditions and the Vietnam War, this profound national experience accentuated issues of conquest and race. Anti-war activists, for example, revolted against American interference in the internal problems of another country. Challenging previous assumptions about the national mission, protesters proclaimed that the war signified cultural imperialism. As they argued, the United States was culpable in its attempt to impose its own concept of "civilization" on other peoples.

While some historians might argue that manifest destiny never held sway outside the continent, they have noted that the Vietnam War fostered wide-spread discussions about race. In seeming response to demonstrations against the war, President Richard Nixon announced a policy of "Vietnamization." This program mandated the replacement of American troops with forces from South Vietnam.

Although many citizens applauded plans to bring American soldiers home, certain critics pointed out that these policies simply made the war more palatable as "expendable" peoples fought and died. Several specific incidents of the war also encouraged the cultural examination of race, but none so strongly as My Lai. The nation was shocked at the wanton slaughter of Vietnamese civilians in that village, and a military court initially sentenced William Calley to life imprisonment for ordering their deaths. Shortly after the conviction, however, Calley's sentence was reduced, and he was free in less than a year. Some Americans commended that action, explaining that peculiarities of the war had mitigated Calley's guilt. Others claimed, nevertheless, that this incident simply illustrated that America still considered some lives to be more precious than others.

In response to these and other events in Vietnam, multitudes of Americans protested against the war. Not simply comprised of members of radical counter cultures, activists represented all ages, races, classes, as well as both sexes. Two protest incidents in 1970 precipitated American confrontations with common assumptions about race on the continent. In April of that year, when National Guardsmen shot at student protestors at Kent State University, four people were killed and nine were wounded. That same year, policemen and highway patrolmen killed two and wounded many more as they "poured automatic weapon fire" into a women's dormitory at Jackson State University (Nash, et al. 950). Across the nation, people denounced the violence, and many became involved in a

reexamination of the premises of the war and the domestic responses to protests. Addressing another aspect of these incidents, a few commentators noted that the attack at Jackson State, committed against African-Americans, had drawn far less media attention and public outrage than the Euro-American deaths. As they pointed out, racism motivated such disparities.

Connected to national discussions concerning race, a variety of studies, news stories, and popular songs have presented statistics about the composition of America's fighting forces in Vietnam. The Selective Service Act of 1940 mandated the first peacetime draft, an action that purportedly universalized military service of all able-bodied males in the nation. During the Vietnam War, a majority of college students received deferments, and when the lottery system was implemented, students who received low lottery numbers secured most of the available National Guard slots. Since the largest percentage of college students were Euro-Americans from the middle and upper classes, the war had a disproportional impact on very young men from minority groups and/or lower classes. As Admiral W. Norman Johnson submitted in a 1993 speech at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University during Black History Month, Vietnam era draft boards, composed of 95% white males, conscripted thousands of Hispanic and African-American inner-city youths during the war. Data demonstrate that minorities served and died in large numbers in past wars, but the issue of systemic racism through selective service was not an important part of the national discussion until the Vietnam era. While America

may not have entirely rejected assumptions of conquest and commonly-held ideas about race in the 1970s, the Vietnam War helped to bring the debate of those issues to the nation's attention.

Events on the continent generated similar dialogues during the same period. As Richard Polenberg argues, ghetto riots and rhetoric proliferated by radical groups such as the Black Panthers led to a backlash in large segments of "mainstream" America. School desegregation and busing engendered volatile verbal discussions as well as physical confrontations. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing to the present, many Euro-Americans have protested affirmative action programs. Incidents inspired by racism have also swept across American campuses since the late 1980s. Describing campus hate crimes in "Bigots in the Ivory Tower," Naushad Mehta, Susan Tifft, and Richard Woodbury write that many students have responded negatively to affirmative admissions policies, tuition waivers for minority students, and other school programs addressing issues of race or ethnicity.

According to William Henry in "Beyond the Melting Pot," recent racial conflicts, on and off the nation's campuses, have arisen because of changing demographics across the United States. Anger over affirmative action and power-sharing has accompanied realizations that in the future Euro-Americans will be in the minority among diverse populations of American peoples (30). Other cultural commentators have also joined in the public dialogue about race and the national

mission during the decades of the "browning of America." As demographer Ben Wattenberg states, "We're a people with a mission and a sense of purpose, and we believe we have something to offer the world" (Mehta, "Citizenship"). Because he does not specify the nature of that "mission" or provide a definition of that national "purpose," Wattenberg testifies to the persistence of common understandings of manifest destiny.

Despite Wattenberg's rhetoric, frontier traditions have not maintained wide-spread potency on the continent in the past two decades. But neither has a new consensus overtaken those "truths." Through the push and pull of cultural discussion and change, the nation has engaged in a volatile polemic. Testing one version of the nation's beginnings against another, weighing their meanings in the light of other interpretations, citizens have scrutinized America's story.

As the population became introspective over the national involvement in the Vietnam War and as they confronted notions of race at home and abroad, America's indigenous peoples became a focus of the cultural discussion for a short period. Engendering the "Red Power" movement in the 1970s, natives contradicted the "reality" that aboriginals had disappeared after the close of the frontier as they demonstrated against federal control and lack of native self-determination. Individuals and tribal groups launched a series of protests, including "fish-ins" in the upper Northwest, a take-over of Alcatraz Island, the march of Trail of Broken Treaties in Washington, D.C., and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee.

Resulting in deaths on both sides of barricaded streets in the small reservation town in South Dakota, the recent seventy-one day armed confrontation at Wounded Knee intensified discussions about the conquest of the continent and racism toward indigenous populations. Media were instrumental in connecting Wounded Knee to this national polemic. As journalism professor Sharon Murphy contends in "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype," newspapers prior to the twentieth century contributed to native stereotyping by projecting common images of savagery. From the turn of the century to the late 1960s, news media provided little coverage of indigenous affairs. As "Red Power" flourished, however, television, radio, and newspapers across the country focused on native protests. Since the 1973 occupation at Wounded Knee was the most violent and one of the most protracted of these episodes, local and national correspondents covered the story, bringing the news to millions of Americans.

Then a resident of Bismarck, North Dakota, and wife of a newspaper reporter, I observed the controversy from close range. Media commentators swarmed through Bismarck since the city had one of the closest airports to the besieged town, and many returned to Bismarck each night to discuss the events of the day, to decide their story "angles," and to wire their interpretations of the occupation to their respective services. Through the lens of Wounded Knee, such men and women outlined the national debate about native peoples.

Although most reporters registered shock at the violence, they also recorded

that the occupation was on the exact site of the 1890 massacre of hundred of innocent natives. Most stories additionally highlighted contemporary injustices cited by the American Indian Movement (AIM). Manifold people across America, including members of other native groups, embraced this narrative. Not long after the incident, an editorial group from the Mohawk nation published Voices From Wounded Knee, 1973. According to this text, Wounded Knee symbolized "a suppressed and oppressed people getting themselves together to restore some dignity to their lives" (1). Endorsing a story that countered common frontier traditions, the editors quoted Ellen Moves Camp, a native woman who had joined in the occupation. As she states, "They [the Oglalas] don't have no income--what little income they do have, maybe it's $19 a month . . . they're still living on rice and beans . . . our Indian people--are not going to be left out any more" (251). By the 1970s, as media and cultural texts presented images of native oppression and resistance, many Americans learned that myths of manifest destiny obscured or eliminated conflicting stories of the nation's past.

Other versions of the incident nonetheless reiterated and vindicated frontier conceptions. After holding eleven hostages, after negotiating with federal officials for more than two months, after declaring themselves a sovereign nation, the recent occupiers of Wounded Knee surrendered their weapons to federal troops. Innumerable people commended federal agents and prosecutors for arresting and charging nearly three hundred people, including AIM leaders Russell Means and

Dennis Banks with a variety of crimes. Although many of the charges were dismissed, 185 native defendants were indicted. Only fifteen were convicted. According to the editors of Voices from Wounded Knee, these trials, especially the proceedings against Means and Banks, became a forum on issues of false arrest, illegal wire taps, and perjury by federal agents. As the Wounded Knee trails dragged on in court, debates about racism and oppression continued in peoples' homes, in local newspapers, and on regional television stations, but national media paid far less attention to these trials than the incident begetting it. Wounded Knee, an episode that embodied local and national discussion concerning frontier myths, demonstrated that neither version of America's past held a cultural consensus.

Providing further evidence of the debate about native people's savagery in "American Indian Relative Ranching Efficiency," Ronald Trosper conducted a study of ranching efficiency in a specific area of Montana in 1978. As Trosper concludes, data indicated that native and Euro-American ranchers had relatively equal managerial knowledge and efficiency. He also admits, nevertheless, that neither ranching successes nor statistical proofs superseded problems stemming from assumptions about aboriginal laziness and ignorance. Such attitudes continued to determine loan and land rental policies. Although Trosper's conclusions point to a persistence of frontier mythic traditions, the existence of his study demonstrates that not all Americans were immersed in these implicit "truths." As Trosper and many others have documented, America questioned frontier traditions.

Creators of historical fiction, television programs, and Hollywood films have joined in such inquiries in the past two decades. Many popular texts have embraced myths of manifest destiny, and just as in the past, these stories have attracted large audiences. In The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies, Gretchen Bataille and Charles Silet nonetheless contend that American films of the 1970s and 1980s provided "a fascinating study of white America . . . trying to come to grips with itself and, in some measure, with its past" (xxv). As Bataille and Silet imply, popular works began to debate frontier traditions during this period.

Certain movies imbued native peoples with humor and dignity, according to Michael Hilger, as screen writers and directors delineated characters that possess a "significance in and of themselves" (140). Critics nearly unanimously cite Little Big Man as one such movie. In Understanding Movies, Louis Giannetti argues that the protagonist's native grandfather, played by Chief Dan George, embodied qualities of intelligence, morality, and humor, characteristics that contradicted frontier assumptions (294). Commenting on the film in Flashback: A Brief History of Film, Giannetti and Scott Eyman write that producer Arthur Penn's sequences of the Battle of the Little Big Horn revisited the scene of the warfare and rebuked previous conceptions of General George Armstrong Custer and his actions. These critics furthermore argue that Penn "rejected the heroic dimensions of these traditional American materials, converting the myth into a tragic parable of

American racism and genocide" (478). As films like Little Big Man captured scenes of frontier warfare and provided images of the slaughter of innocent native women and children, they offered Americans revisionist views of national beginnings.

Native women have also received different portrayals in recent films. Of one hundred films depicting natives between 1970 and 1984,[4] 28% featured a native woman. Although there has been no significant rise in this percentage over the decades, a number of these works have begun to display a significantly different type of woman. Portrayals of a traditional aboriginal wife or mother, depicted within the context of her own culture, have risen from 0% in silent films to 39% in movies produced in the 1970s and 1980s. Although this woman might not appear heroic on a large scale, such characterizations contradict assumptions of native savagery as delineated by frontier narratives. In Dances with Wolves, for example, the wife of the protagonist's native friend possesses subtle powers, suggesting that traditional native women were not totally subordinated to men.

Despite a significant increase in focused portraits of traditional native women's lives, American film makers have also delivered stories about Indian princesses. Of works featuring a native woman in the 1970s and 1980s, 54% depicted the young and beautiful Indian maiden who ventures into the wilderness to save the civilized man or men. Therefore, although some recent Americans films have reflected a new openness to native cultures, advancing legitimate questions

about western conquests and savagery, data also indicate that others cling to those very ideas. As Bataille and Silet argue, American films have produced certain changes in their approaches to native peoples, but that transformation is not nearly complete (3).

Concurring with Bataille and Silet in "White Stereotyping of Indians," Tim Shaughnessy explores the results of the persistence and proliferation of traditional images of Indians. In a study of Utah college students' perceptions of indigenous peoples, Shaughnessy learned that Euro-American youth consistently stereotyped natives as inarticulate and inferior. He also concluded that media images of native savagery have contributed to that phenomenon. This study, in addition to others, stresses that although conquest and savagery have been subjects of debate in recent years, frontier myths continue to influence belief among some Americans.

Amidst contentious discussions about the national mission into the wilderness and about native savagery in the last two decades, various artists have advanced Sacagawea's story to the American public. In most of these narratives, Sacagawea is embraced, not because she provides an opportunity to counter traditional meanings, but because she reiterates frontier mythic conceptions. Even in this latest period, a majority of creators delineate Sacagawea's story in the most typical way. She remains the Indian princess, the proof that manifest destiny was just.

Submitting a narrative that reflects the traditional legend, Anna Lee Waldo pens the 1,407 page romance novel, Sacajawea, a saga of an American heroine's

lifetime. Although the book received unanimously negative reviews from historians and literary critics, it was extremely popular with American audiences. Writing of this text, Raymond Stedman claims that it provided evidence that this heroic figure from western history continues to appeal to America. As he asserts, Sacagawea's story sounded "inviting echoes of the ancient forest maiden" throughout the land (31). Demonstrating this attraction, Waldo's text was on the New York Times best seller list for more than eight months in 1979 and 1980 and sold over one million copies in less than four years. Even as late as ten years after its initial publication, people selling historical materials and memorabilia on the capitol grounds during North Dakota's state centennial celebration testified that Sacajawea was one of their fastest-moving commodities.

The success of Waldo's novel is linked, in part, to a phenomenon of popular culture, the relatively recent explosion in production and consumption of romance novels. In Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature, Janice Radway investigates marketing strategies of romance fiction and interviews individuals comprising a community of romance readers. A professor of American civilization, Radway illustrates that Sacajawea embodies the most important qualities of romance fiction. One factor in the popularity of such narratives is marketing. Women, primarily from working class families, constitute nearly 100% of romance readers. Targeting this audience in various ways, publishers print the novels in paperback, in order to produce and sell the work at reasonable prices. In

addition, the books are marketed in drugstores, supermarkets, and mall bookstores where millions of women shop every day (32-38). Embracing these tactics, Waldo's publishing company, Avon printed Sacajawea in paperback only and sold it in "women's" shopping locations.

Probably more important than marketing techniques, the plots of romance novels must adhere to specific criteria for popular acceptance. As Radway contends, romance readers want "chronicles of female triumph." Searching for assurances about their lives as females, in addition to their roles as wives and mothers, these women embrace a "utopian vision in which female individuality and a sense of self are shown to be compatible with nurturance and care by another" (55). According to Radway's research, this community of readers finds appealing images in historical narratives of an independent and defiant woman (56). The tale must also illustrate the heroine's connection to a handsome man, and she must be successful in attaining his attention and in "establishing herself as the object of his concern and the recipient of his care" (84). Waldo's novel incorporates these criteria.

Drawing readers' attention and inspiring spontaneous purchases, the cover art of the 1984 edition of Sacajawea relates the subject's strength and independence and alludes to the historical context of her story. As the picture relates, several frontiersmen are resting in the background, cradling their guns across their arms. In the foreground, a beautiful woman strides ahead, confidently leading the weary

men. As her fringed buckskin dress and dark, flowing hair illustrate, Sacagawea is moving forward, with purpose. This book cover declares that a strong and determined woman is the subject of this story, not the men.

The plot of Sacajawea presents a traditional tale of the legendary Indian princess as it simultaneously fulfills romance readers' demands for an incomparable heroine. Clever and curious as a child (8), Sacagawea vows to conduct herself as the daughter of a great chief even in the face of terrible treatment by her captors (66-67). As a young woman, she is alert and intelligent (273). She has shiny black hair, full lips, widely-spaced dark eyes, high cheekbones, and "creamy-brown," silky skin (146, 499). Graceful and slim (146), Sacagawea is beautiful, even by "white standards" (154). Although she does not describe a woman that is as Euro-Americanized as Henry's heroine, this Sacagawea is a true Indian princess, both physically and intellectually. Consistent with all other interpretations of Sacagawea's efforts during the mission, Waldo emphasizes that the heroine provides food, mends clothes, and cares for the men and her baby (313-314, passim). In one scene, this wise native woman teaches the men to protect themselves against mosquitoes with buffalo grease (329). Leading them forward into the wilderness, saving their lives, Sacagawea is an American heroine.

Continuing a tradition begun in texts of the 1940s, Waldo also highlights a love story. She moreover adopts her predecessors' strategies in portraying an evil Charbonneau. A half-breed abomination in this novel (218), Charbonneau is a

lascivious old squawman who wins Sacagawea in a game of chance, hits her, and tries to sell her "favors" (154, 231, 296, 318). Yearning for real fulfillment, Sacagawea finds Clark, and he wants her also. Despite their passion, which is illustrated in hundreds of pages of heart-throbbing, impetuous embraces, this heroine and hero cannot consummate their love.

Waldo thus departs from the typical plot offered in romance fiction. As she asserts, "this feeling had roots between them, but the roots could never be nourished and kept alive" (664). The impediment to their relationship is not Charbonneau, nor is it the baby. Taboos against interracial mixing prevent Sacagawea and Clark from fulfilling their desires. Even as late as the 1970s, despite debates about frontier traditions, Waldo delineates that the intrepid heroine cannot win Clark, even temporarily, because of racial differences. Demonstrating how easily Sacagawea's story could be molded to nearly every requirement of the romance novel, Waldo portrays the traditional tale of the Indian princess who loves a civilized man and saves the mission but who can never participate in civilization because of her native heritage.

Not only reinforcing American frontier myths, Waldo also attempts cultural work for the nation's future. Just as Dye had done in the progressive era and as Emmons undoubtedly did in the 1940s, Waldo participates in the extended and changing conversation about women's roles and positions in American society. Employing Sacagawea as a model for American women of their own times, each of

these female writers exemplifies a heroine who rose above the constraints of her day and took control of her life. As they submit, all women could do likewise.

For more than two centuries, myriad texts have engaged in the cultural discourse about women's positions and roles in American society. Prior to the rise of the feminist movement following the Civil War, certain writers questioned the concept of women's circumscription within the home. In Woman in the Nineteenth Century, for instance, Margaret Fuller focused on commonly-cited "women's differences," their bodies, emotions, and roles as wives and mothers.[5] Although many texts of the era declared that such distinctions provided evidence of weakness and inferiority, Fuller stressed that feminine characteristics demonstrated women's superior intuition, a quality that counterbalanced men's brute sensuality. Employing traditional arguments to sustain her viewpoint, Fuller contended that women deserved equality because they were in some ways better than men. Although she did not avoid the trap of relationality, that is defining women primarily through their association with men, Fuller was one of the first American writers to interrogate concepts of a "woman's place" and to encourage ideological revolution.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, some of Fuller's ideas served as foundation arguments for women's suffrage. As the movement expanded from a few women on the fringes of American society to incorporate moderate reformers during the progressive era, proponents employed Sacagawea as one of the standard

bearers of suffrage, as has been discussed in chapter three of this study. After suffragists achieved their objective, American feminism declined, according to William Henry Chafe in The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970. As he argues, women's activists gained the vote but lost their unifying impetus to action.

The debate about women's roles did not die after the 1920s, however, since the ballot did little to eliminate women's economic or social inequality. Another critical moment in the feminist movement occurred during and after World War II as American women supported the war effort through sundry occupations, including employment in heavy industry. In Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States, Alice Kessler-Harris documents that Euro-American women earned wages since their arrival in the New World, but she also asserts that the war offered unprecedented opportunities for women. Necessity mitigated traditional attitudes about female circumscription. Such transformations could not have occurred, asserts Chafe, without the approval and encouragement of the government and the "principal instruments of public opinion," newspapers, radio, magazines (146, 148). Through every possible avenue, American culture promoted women's entry into the war effort and legitimized female employment.

Despite certain inroads for women in the work force during the war, traditional attitudes did not change unconditionally. As Chafe writes, "most citizens preferred to retain traditional definitions of masculine and feminine spheres," even

as they allowed modifications of the "content of those spheres in practice" (194). Chafe's comments coincide with Ruth Milkman's conclusions in Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II. As Milkman contends, women invaded the work force at the culture's encouragement, but women's pay, the type of labor they were allowed to do, and prohibitions against their enrollment in unions pointed to ideological separation. Other evidence of the persistence of this orthodoxy occurred after the war. When soldiers returned home, many women workers lost their jobs and were told to return to their homes.

Although the women's movement may have appeared to be dormant in the 1950s as the culture proliferated idyllic images of the homemaker, family, and the stay-at-home mother, these were not the realities of American society. Kessler-Harris argues that during this decade more women became part of the work force than at any previous time in the nation's history. By the 1960s, women were among America's most important wage workers, especially in clerical and service sectors. Inspired by the rhetoric and action of the Civil Rights movement, student revolts, and Vietnam protests, many women, whether employed or not, demanded a re-examination of traditions that restricted women's roles in American society.

Chafe, Kessler-Harris, and others agree that Betty Friedan's 1963 The Feminine Mystique helped to focus the nation's attention of cultural assumptions of women's biology and psyche, as well as their social and economic roles in America. Striking a responsive chord in multitudes of women and men across

America, as it highlighted the destructive effects of women's circumscription, this works and others helped to spark the resurgence of the women's movement in the 1970s. As Kessler-Harris argues, feminists "pushed the ideology of the home from the center of consciousness. In its place women at the edge of change began to search for new perceptions of self and new relationships to power and authority" (319). Fighting against deeply-rooted traditions, activists in the women's movement focussed on a number of issues, including sexual freedom, the ability to control reproduction through access to birth control and abortion, and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). As feminists achieved some of their goals and as ERA activities escalated, others adhered to established ideologies and fought against reform. The women's movement was thus privately and publicly debated across America during the 1970s.

According to Janice Radway, romance readers have participated in this contentious conversation. Countering other interpretations of romance fictions, Radway contends that reading romances does not enforce female dependence, nor does it rationalize women's repression. She argues that these ritual readings instead express participants' remonstration of the very institutions that have attempted to limit their roles in a patriarchal culture. Embracing such ideas in a novel about one of America's most renown Indian princesses, Anna Lee Waldo employs Sacagawea as a model of and argument for modern American feminism. Unlike Peattie's heroine, Waldo's Sacagawea is not a weak, little object to be manipulated by men.

Pointedly connected to the cultural conversation about woman's place, she serves an ideal figure to investigate issues of repression and circumscription, in addition to female control of sexuality and reproduction. Despite various men's attempts to subjugate this remarkable heroine, Sacagawea becomes an independent woman.

Early in the novel, Waldo emphasizes the evils of male domination as she delineates scenes of rape, a violent act which marks the victim's impotence and the perpetrator's control. Treated as a sex object by the age of ten or eleven, Sacagawea is repeatedly raped by her Minnetaree "grandfather" and "father" and nearly every other man around her (88, passim). Although she protects herself from Charbonneau when she first meets him (156), he forces himself on her after he wins her in a game of chance (235). With no means of resisting or escaping her "master's" will, Sacagawea is pregnant by the time she is twelve or thirteen.

Waldo accentuates the portrait of female vulnerability in a number of ways. Pointing to an analogy between Sacagawea's life and those of contemporary American wives, Waldo emphasizes that Charbonneau is a "master" who owns and controls a slave. Young and small, Sacagawea is physically unable to overcome her slavery, but perhaps more importantly, she is also defenseless because of her economic dependence. She has no alternatives other than compliance. Waldo additionally provides several portrayals of rape, including those committed by Sacagawea's master/husband. As the novelist demonstrates, sexual assaults are no less loathsome even if they are perpetrated within legitimated social institutions.

Sexual control is not the only indication of female repression in this text, however. Nearly every man in Sacagawea's life attempts to circumscribe her existence and to discount her importance. Captain Meriwether Lewis is among Sacagawea's worst detractors. When Clark argues that they should take her along on the mission, Lewis is horrified. Although he admits that she would be an invaluable asset, Lewis notes that they would never be able to hold up their heads if Washington ever found out that a woman took part in this military mission (277). In another incident, he refuses to follow Sacagawea's advice at Three Forks and wastes several days on the wrong tributary because he "could not trust a woman" (336). Finally, when the Corps leaves the Mandans, Lewis does not pay her. As he states, "'we can't list a woman on our Army payroll--no way!'" (682). Discounting her knowledge, scoffing at her contribution, Lewis is not significantly different from the men who rape Sacagawea. In each case, their attitudes and actions indicate an underlying fear of Sacagawea's strength. They all seek to control her.

Despite male attempts at domination, Waldo's heroine prevails. Using events outlined in the original journals, Waldo reveals that Sacagawea is woman of remarkable power and intelligence. She knows, for example, that there is no waterway across the continent and laughs at the men who are naive enough to hope that it exists (258). During the squall, this woman does not simply sit in the boat rescuing valuable articles that float alongside her. This Sacagawea plunges into the

river, baby on her back, to save the irreplaceable stores (318). Attesting to Sacagawea's courage and potency, Waldo capitalized on an ambiguity in the original scripts. Since Lewis proclaimed that Charbonneau and two other men would have perished if the boat had overturned, the novelist interprets his failure to comment on Sacagawea's presence in the craft as evidence that she can swim. That ability is even more impressive since Lewis concedes that he would have drowned in the powerful current.

The squall marks only the first of a series incidents in which Sacagawea demonstrates her power. For instance, she saves Clark from certain death during the flash flood (358). Not limiting Sacagawea's potency to such grand events, Waldo depicts a woman who defies male authority throughout the mission. When she demands the right to see the whale, Clark acknowledges that nothing will stop her (569). She does not allow her husband to punish her child (580), and she tries to convince other native women that they should form their own social organizations, since such institutions should not exist just for men (602).

Articulating Sacagawea's feelings about Charbonneau and extrapolating those ideas to all men, Waldo argues that "she wanted to be as free of him as possible so that he could not cast a net over her made of the strings of his dependence on her" (557). As Sacagawea reasons, women become circumscribed by men's dependence upon them. Not allowing herself to be subordinated by any male, Sacagawea recognizes that "she would not be content to stay in this place [Fort Mandan] long.

She had goals and a horizon to follow. She had hope" (689). This unfettered heroine leaves Charbonneau and leads a long and fulfilling life. Although she marries again, she does not allow herself to be repressed, and when she returns to the Shoshones in old age, she bears the name Porvino, which means "chief." She is the only woman who speaks with authority among males. Anna Lee Waldo thus presents a woman of bravery and courage, a heroine able to fight against male domination. A model for modern feminists, Sacagawea seems to promise that strong women can triumph.

Waldo tries to universalize this potential by demonstrating that Sacagawea is "everywoman." In order to establish the identity between Sacagawea and Euro-American women, the novelist attempts to collapse differences between savagery and civilization. Denying the notion that savage women "enjoy" easy births, Waldo claims that all women share equally in the experience. Representative of all womankind as she endures the pains of labor, Sacagawea experiences emotions that were "as primitive and as civilized as any woman's. There was no distinction between primitive and civilized in the event of birth" (284). This effort to ignore or discount Sacagawea's native heritage ultimately fails, however, because Waldo emphasizes her racial identity so often throughout the text.

Racial difference dooms Sacagawea's and Clark's love. More significantly, Waldo consistently depicts native culture as primitive and savage, and she indicates that such savagery is the root of Sacagawea's subordination. When Sacagawea is a

child among the Shoshones, for instance, her brother tells her that she asks too many questions, "more than a girl-child should"(5). She is not allowed to paint on stone since that activity is reserved for men (6). Illustrating the ways in which female repression is passed from one generation to the next, Sacagawea's mother chastises her curiosity (11). Examples of the worst subordination, as illustrated in the series of rapes, are inherently connected to native culture. Because she is a slave among savages and because savages do not differentiate between little girls and women, Sacagawea is subject to male sexual domination by the age of ten. None of the men of the Corps commit such acts. Acknowledging the correlation between female repression and savagery, Sacagawea proclaims, "'I do not want to be a slave squaw forever . . . I cannot live like a caged bird always'" (113). As this statement implies, Sacagawea is not so immersed within savagery, even prior to her contact with civilized men, that she cannot recognize the truth about native existence. This heroine simply must learn how to escape her savage subordination.

Similar to Emmons's subject, Waldo's Sacagawea discovers that civilization offers female independence. As she states during the journey, "There is pleasure for me being here with you white men" (480). Although she does not specify, at this point, the exact nature of her satisfaction nor its cause, Sacagawea defines her feelings more thoroughly in a subsequent scene. As she reflects,

> she was feeling more and more as though she belonged with these white men. They accepted her as one of them. . . She had acted as an interpreter and was treated more like one of the men than like a squaw . . . These were

> things done only by men [playing the fiddle, firing a rifle, singing in public]. But here, with these people, it made no difference. Life was good here. (526)

Articulating her contentment with the companionship and equality that civilized men offer, Sacagawea envisions the journey and its achievement of communitas in much the same way Frank Rivet does in The Gates of the Mountains. In this text, however, Waldo focuses on the dissolution of gender-based statuses rather than racial differences. In spite of such positive images, certain questions remain. Can Waldo filter out race as she presents the story of an Indian princess? If she cannot, how does that affect her portrayal of feminism and/or her characterization of a heroine?

Adopting common assumptions concerning women's roles and positions within traditional tribal cultures, Waldo does not separate the issues of race and gender. As she claims, savagery institutionalizes the subordination of women. Implicit in this reasoning is the notion that civilized society is, and was, open to women of power and intelligence. While Waldo might concede that Euro-American women are confronted by some measure of male domination or diminution, as evidenced by Lewis, she demonstrates that many "civilized" men can accept female autonomy.

Instead, Waldo argues that Sacagawea does not escape the strictures of a universal male domination as she highlights the repression of native women. Sacagawea rather learns to resist the confines of a primitive society. Through her

contact with the men of the Corps, she evolves into something greater than she has been. When she translates for the captains, for instance, Sacagawea feels that she has "reached a height of esteem never before dreamed of by women" as the "great medicine of white men" transforms her (618). Clark, one of the men who is not afraid of female power, muses over her evolution and realizes that she is "no longer cowed by the shackles of Shoshoni or any other native tradition or behavior" (664). Through such an educational process, Sacagawea discovers that savagery must change so that native women's talents and ideas can be accepted, as they are in Euro-American culture.

Although Waldo attempts to collapse racial categories in order to define the universality of Sacagawea's heroism, she concurrently emphasizes disparities between savagery and civilization in an effort to demonstrate Sacagawea's development as a woman. This novelist thus presents irreconcilable images. Is Sacagawea "everywoman," a person whose race is unimportant to her identity as a powerful female? Or is she a native woman who must escape the limitations of her primitive culture and embrace the freedoms that civilization bestows on all its citizens? While Waldo obviously wishes to blend these questions, she cannot.

Stressing Sacagawea's transformation at the same moment that she denies her heroine's real acceptance by civilization, Waldo does not transcend the savagism/civilization dichotomies embraced by other cultural texts. Accepting and reiterating proscriptions against miscegenation, illustrating the savagery of native

life, especially as it affects women, and contrasting that existence with civilization, Waldo upholds and justifies frontier myths. As the back cover of the novel proclaims, Sacagawea "stood straight and proud before the onrushing forces of America's destiny." Through this "great woman," Waldo tells the story of this "great nation." Sacajawea thus disseminates many of the traditional meanings of manifest destiny and illustrates ambiguities of the Indian princess.

Waldo's approach to the character of Sacagawea and her activities is not an aberration even in an era that witnessed strident dissension over issues of conquest, race, and gender. A 1989 advertisement for a Hamilton Collection commemorative plate also testifies to the force and attraction of traditional representations.[6] Although O. Sayer, a customer service representative for The Hamilton Collection, would provide no specific data about the number of "Sacajawea" plates that have been fired or sold, (s)he asserts that "American Indian subjects" have been among the company's most popular products. "Sacajawea" is a commodity that combines nostalgia for "Indian" objects with positive messages about America's past.

In an attempt to appeal to broad audiences, the advertisement for the "Sacajawea" plate establishes the connection between this native woman and her "American" heroism. For example, the advertising copy delineates the tale of a traditional Indian princess. As the script reads, "Gentle, serene and knowledgeable, Sacajawea helped lead her party over plains and rivers and through Montana mountain passes." Familiar with America's uncharted wilderness, she guides

civilized men through the perils of the frontier. Although none of the western states existed at that time, copy writers record no apparent dissonance in naming that territory "Montana." The text additionally explains that the plate is a "tribute to this American heroine" of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Reinforcing that message, the advertising banner reads, "Sacajawea: A Brave and Noble American Heroine." Just as in Sacagawea works produced during the progressive period and subsequent eras, this ad declares that Sacagawea was and is an American heroine because of services she performed during the expedition.

The advertisement also provides a color photograph of the collector plate. A representation of a graphic print designed and executed by David Wright, the plate displays a woman possessing all the attributes of the Indian princess. She is young and beautiful, and her skin is lightly tanned. Her clothing of fringed buckskin may not indicate a "royal" station, but the accoutrements adorning her dress, such as fur trim, extensive beading and/or quill work, jewelry, and other ornaments, demonstrate Sacagawea's sovereignty.

The plate additionally illustrates the context of Sacagawea's "American" heroism. Directly associating this Indian princess with the frontier West, Wright places her in the wilderness, with snow-peaked mountains in the distance, a river somewhat closer, and a rather primitive campsite just behind. The portrait also denotes Sacagawea's association with the men of the Corps. Two frontiersmen, doubtlessly Lewis and Clark, look at a map or chart in the background, and a few

other men talk by the boat. There is no doubt, however, that Sacagawea is the subject of this vignette. Sitting gracefully and serenely in the foreground, the beautiful princess dominates the print.

No dissonance interrupts the visual harmony of the scene or Sacagawea's association with the American mission on the continent. Colors of red, white, and blue are prevalent. The baby's cradleboard is decorated with red beads or quills, the overall design appearing remarkably similar to stripes of an American flag. A picturesque heroine, this Indian princess holds her baby's cradleboard in her lap, her arms surrounding him protectively. As the portrait confirms and the advertisement copy echoes, Sacagawea simultaneously fulfilled her obligations as a protective mother and as an American heroine of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. A "bold and brave Indian woman," this Sacagawea also assures the nation of the rectitude of manifest destiny. Nowhere does the ad register conflict between Sacagawea's nobility as a "American Indian Woman" and her role as an "American Heroine."

In the same year that The Hamilton Collection first advertised the "Sacajawea" plate, two Euro-American men produced yet another iteration of the Sacagawea narrative, the musical drama Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names. Unlike other proponents of the Sacagawea legend, librettist William Borden and composer Thomas Peterson use the story of the expedition and Sacagawea's role in that mission as a means of interrogating narrative traditions of

America's western conquests and the dichotomy of savagery and civilization. As this play demonstrates, frontier myths no longer maintained compelling power among certain, possibly wide-spread, American populations. Instead, contrary narratives competed for "reality" status on the continent.

According to William Borden, the inspiration for the musical drama was Thomas Peterson's. As Borden writes, the composer/conductor wanted to create an opera that related something of North Dakota's history (1 Oct. 1991). Peterson, who grew up in Grand Forks and attended the University of North Dakota, reported in a telephone interview with me that the 1989 state centennial celebration offered funding for a dramatic production. Declaring that he hoped to write "larger-than-life music" to fit a "larger-than-life narrative," Peterson said that he was not interested in Teddy Roosevelt[7] or other "modern" state personalities because a vision inspired his choice of a subject.

He saw a picture "of a young native woman, standing alone, looking off, feeling the burden of great responsibility." Acting on that vision, Peterson selected Sacagawea as the subject of his drama. As he asserts, "she is already a myth--one of the true great myths of our country." Elaborating on his choice, Peterson stated that Sacagawea was a "powerful character," one who has elicited "intense universal emotions" in many audiences. Playwright and English professor at the University of North Dakota, William Borden collaborated with Peterson. Borden writes that although Peterson initially suggested Sacagawea as the subject of the drama, he too

became intrigued by the story of this "mythic and universal figure" (1 Oct. 1991). Like other creators of the past century, Thomas Peterson and William Borden embraced the Sacagawea legend.

Despite possibly typical reasons for Peterson's choice of subject matter, Sakakawea was affected by America's dialogue about race. As Borden asserts, he read the expedition journals[8], a few biographies,[9] and historical articles debating Sacagawea's name as he prepared to write the libretto. He also claims that he did not read any of the novels, because "I didn't want other fictions in my head. I especially didn't read that huge novel that was so popular"[10] (1 Oct. 1991). Blending information gathered from these sources with the need to cast two former North Dakota women who had received national recognition as professional singers, Borden wrote a tale of a native woman who lived to old age.

That decision roused controversy. As Borden notes, "The Lewis & Clark Assoc. were very upset that we even considered that she might have lived to 89; the party line is that she dies much earlier" (1 Oct. 1991). The association's response should not be surprising, since Hebard's version of Sacagawea's life had inevitably directed attention away from the expedition and toward the native heroine in numerous texts. Adding another reason for their preference, Borden writes, "I regard the party line as a white bias that privileges written records over oral testimony" (1 Oct. 1991). As these comments suggest, historical debates about Sacagawea's death have not abated. More importantly, Borden points out that

Euro-American conceptions of "evidence" no longer persuaded all populations.

Another conflict surrounded the production of Sakakawea, one directly tied to the national debate concerning western conquests and interpretations of native cultures. Once Peterson and Borden selected Sacagawea as the subject for the drama and outlined the narrative, they sought funding from the North Dakota Council on the Arts. The council refused their request, in spite of the fact that an earlier version of Borden's script was the 1987 winner of the "Opera Now!" libretto competition in Minneapolis, Minnesota (Sakakawea Playnotes 10). As the council explained, the world had "enough white versions of Indian stories" (Hand). Decades prior to this production of the Sacagawea story, such comments would probably have never taken place.

Despite these controversies, Borden and Peterson persuaded the council and others that Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names was not just another "white version" of an "Indian story," and many state and national associations provided grants for the production. They included the University of North Dakota, the North Dakota Council on the Arts, the National Endowment for the Arts, the North Dakota Humanities Council (Sakakawea Playnotes 1). The reversal in agency support partially hinged on Borden's and Peterson's concession to the demands of the North Dakota Humanities Council. As they insisted, the playnotes would include two scholarly commentaries on the Sacagawea story, one provided by a person schooled in Euro-American history and the other knowledgeable in native

traditions. More significantly, council directors undoubtedly came to understand that Sakakawea interrogates frontier myths.

Produced in celebration of North Dakota's centennial year, Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names played before sell-out crowds at the Chester Fritz Auditorium in Grand Forks, North Dakota, in September 1989. As reviewer Gail Stewart Hand writes, the drama was "clever, moving, riveting," a "striking and brilliant" musical celebrating the legend of Sacagawea. Three years in production, enveloped in a cultural debate, Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names employs flashbacks and two Sacagaweas, one old and one young, to move back and forth from the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming in 1884 to scenes of the expedition in 1805 and 1806.

In some ways, Peterson and Borden do not depart from previous versions of the legend. The heroic Sacagawea is a cooperative helper in the wilderness. She translates for the captains (I-3) and signifies the expedition's peaceful intentions (I-9-12).[11] When the men are starving because they cannot find meat, she arrives with vegetables and roots that she has dug, and the entire chorus sings, "What would we do without you?" (I-19). Peterson and Borden also illustrate Sacagawea's bravery. As she sings,

> If I can be someone, if I can do something, if I can wander beyond mountains to the farthest sea--I will be remembered, I will be remembered by someone . . . I can grab chances like berries, like limbs on a tree I can climb. Every chance is a path somewhere, every gamble a mountain to climb to see what lies beyond. The unexpected the juiciest berry to bite" (I-

21).

This woman is nothing like the person Lewis describes on several occasions. She is a courageous heroine, one who possesses aspirations beyond her immediate surroundings.

Sakakawea also reflects a love story between the heroine and Clark. Although Charbonneau is more an object of pity than of scorn, he is a coward and weak in comparison to any other member of the Corps. He offers Sacagawea no consideration or tenderness, and she yearns for "a little love" and finds it in Clark (I-18). Clark returns that emotion. As he sings when she is ill, "I don't need you to buy horses. I don't need you to find food. I need your bright laugh, I need your warm hand in mine. I need you close to me." (I-25). Just as other texts have previously illustrated, this version of the Sacagawea legend also asserts that their love is doomed, citing proscriptions against miscegenation. Arguing with Sacagawea over the hopelessness of their situation, Clark explains that he has plans when he returns to civilization. As he states, "It's different in the city. It's different in the white man's world. I love you, Janey, but it's not a city love. A General can't have a People wife" (II-17). Outlining the character and actions of an heroic woman, illustrating her husband's faults, citing her doomed love for Clark, Borden and Peterson thus appear to submit another example of the traditional legend.

Despite these typical approaches to the narrative, Sakakawea inscribes other

concepts that question Euro-American assumptions about native peoples. The play also interrogates the nature and results of the nation's sacred mission on the continent. Such commentaries mark significant departures from previous interpretations of the legend. Borden and Peterson, for example, confront a passage in Lewis's journal that implies Sacagawea's savage impassivity. Overlapping each other's disparate conversations, Sacagawea and Lewis sing,

> Lewis: Here she was captured by enemies only a few years ago . . .[12]
> Young Sakakawea: Only a few years ago, horses thundered over that hill. An arm scooped me up . . .
> Lewis: I cannot discover . . .
> Young Sakakawea: I rode behind him . . .
> Lewis: . . . that she shows any emotion . . .
> Young Sakakawea: . . . all day, the horse's spine . . .
> Lewis: . . . of sorrow in recollecting this event . . .
> Young Sakakawea: . . . hard against my buttocks . . .
> Lewis: . . . or of joy in being restored . . .
> Young Sakakawea: . . . the man's back sweating, his smell heavy in my nostrils.
> Lewis: . . . to her native country.
> Young Sakakawea: It was like dying--(II-1-2).

By juxtaposing these "stories," Borden demonstrates that perception implies interpretation.

As Sacagawea relates, she not only registered the peril and anguish of her past capture; she also recollects the pain and horror of that experience years later. Nonetheless, Lewis is a man whose realities have been informed by frontier myths, and he implicitly knows that savage women are unemotional creatures. Although he sees Sacagawea and hears her tale, he also understands that she is unquestionably

savage. Nothing, not even her own testimony, sways his opinion that she too is impassive. He perceives what he must. As the audience witnesses the two intersecting narratives, Lewis's judgments become pointedly ironic.

Although other writers have also cast doubts on Lewis's interpretations of Sacagawea's impassivity, most have not countered broader notions of native savagism. In this drama, however, Borden and Peterson question that assumption. When Clark first meets Sacagawea, they talk about the mission. As she asks, "You'll see many Peoples? We call ourselves People. You call us Indians" (I-8). Not simply rejecting the Euro-American designation for natives, Sacagawea also points out that aboriginals' conceptions of themselves differ sharply for those submitted from outside. First, she demonstrates the error of conflation, as conceived and proliferated through frontier myths. As Sacagawea states, natives are "peoples," comprised of many groups that embrace different traditions and different customs. She furthermore emphasizes that native people are certainly not lesser beings than other humans.

Borden and Peterson explore the concept of America's peoples and human dignity in another scene as well. While every text embracing Lewis and Clark Expedition at least mentions York, Clark's slave, his presence becomes an integral part of Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names. When Sacagawea meets York, she wants to know his relation to Clark, asking if he is a friend or a brother. Clark says he owns York, but she cannot comprehend what that means (I-12). When she

persists in her attempt to understand the nature of one human's ownership of another, York at first proclaims, "Oh, it's an easy life. No responsibilities. I'm happy when I work. I sing, I dance" (I-13). However, the moment Clark moves away, York asserts, "A man takes away your freedom, he takes away your heart. You got to make your own heart, You got to keep it beating, and every beat cries 'Freedom! Freedom! Freedom" (I-13)! This short scene is a pivotal moment in the play for a variety of reasons.

Sacagawea's inability to comprehend the word or meaning of institutionalized slavery would seem to deny that she was a slave or that she had been treated as a slave. Although Borden accedes to Sacagawea's captivity, he suggests that this tradition must not have implied a captive's total subordination. Secondly, York's changing testimony about slavery, attesting to the joy or pain that accompanies it, certifies the power of socially-constructed realities. Because he is a slave and thus totally dependent on the will and whim of his master, York is forced to reiterate culturally-accepted meanings of that condition in his master's presence. The irony that the victim must propagate those ideas becomes manifest when York feels safe enough to tell Sacagawea the truth. This short exchange about slavery also intersects with commentaries about the purpose of the expedition. By designating what the Euro-American institution of slavery has afforded African peoples, York foreshadows what would happen to native populations that occupied lands in the West.

As the play embraces the cultural debate about America's conquest and Euro-American visions of race, Sakakawea furthermore questions the intent of the journey and documents the destruction of native cultures. A moment after the young Sacagawea pleads with her brother to provide horses for the Corps, the scene switches to the old Sacagawea. As the elderly woman recollects,

> They were very strange, and they meant well. But they did not understand the consequence of their journey. None of us understood. We did not know that traders would follow. We did not know that railroads would follow. We did not know that treaties would follow, that reservations would follow, that Wounded Knee, boarding school, BIA would follow. (II-7)

Although Sacagawea claims that neither she nor anyone else of the Corps planned or could have foreseen the results of the expedition, she addresses issues that other Sacagawea texts do not raise. Unconcerned with Euro-American settlement or progress accomplished by "civilization" or the need for native assimilation, her account highlights the effects that the mission inevitably wrought on America's indigenous peoples. As she lists outcomes suggesting confinement and paternalistic authority, Sacagawea's narrative echoes York's declarations about slavery.

Not simply delivering a message about the horrors of conquest, Sakakawea also relates a narrative of what might have been in the West. If America had been different, for example, Sacagawea's and Clark's love could have flourished. Never accepting the validity of Clark's reasoning, Sacagawea sings, "The way to my heart is straight as an arrow. Why do you walk 'round and 'round as if you're following a river in and out? Can't you walk straight into my heart? I walked straight into

yours" (II-15-16). As far as Sacagawea is concerned, Clark's people might be different from hers, but their love is simple and pure. Despite Sacagawea's efforts, Clark is unable to shed the meanings and proscriptions of his own culture.

Sacagawea's and Clark's love affair is a small, yet vivid example of unnecessary loss. As the play illustrates, there are more significant failures than this doomed love. Also lost are opportunities for various peoples to come together to learn about one another and to understand each other's points of view. Cognizant of the explosive potential of any meeting of "others," Borden and Peterson relate that prospect through dance. Early in the trip, the Corps encounter a group of native men. As the entire troupe dance around the campfire, they are "full of wariness and fear . . . the dance represents not fighting but the fear and ignorance that can lead to battle" (I-20). Although the dance never develops into violence, that potential is evident.

In another dance scene, Borden and Peterson demonstrate what might happen when people rid themselves of fear and suspicion. After the Corps' arrival at the Shoshone camp, native men and women perform a dance of welcome. Eventually, all the members of the expedition join the festivity. As Borden writes, "There is a spirit of communality and celebration, a recognition of differences and a transcending of differences, a glimpse of what was, for a brief moment, and what might have been, had history played itself out differently than it did" (II-9). Not simply recreating the liminality that Frank Rivet envisions in Henry's The Gates of

the Mountains and which Sacagawea feels in Waldo's Sacajawea, this production proclaims that communitas can be real. Borden and Peterson also suggest that the ritual might include more participants than other texts consider. This dance does not engage members of the Corps only; it involves all peoples in the wilderness. As this ritual implies, everyone might exist without barriers that preclude human communion.

Although the communitas of this scene is ephemeral, it occurs in the center of the play. The promise of that experience underscores the poignancy of subsequent loss, an ill-fate love and implications of many lost lives and cultures. As history professor Gordon L. Iseminger writes of the production, "Borden suggests that the differences between Clark and Sakakawea--that differences between the white man and the Indian--could have been bridged had people listened to their hearts. Lamentably they did not" (14). Because of the emphasis on a lost love and missed opportunities, Sakakawea might seem to be a gloomy production, but in important ways it is not.

As Borden and Peterson write, the convergence of music, script, actors, and audiences

> reflects something essentially American . . . the spirit of exploration and the meeting of diverse cultures that characterized the Lewis and Clark Expedition and, indeed, characterizes America today and gives America--and North Dakota--extraordinary potential. (Sakakawea Playnotes 6)

The brief experience of communion at the Shoshone camp has expired, but the play

itself is a ritual, one recreating that liminal moment of America's past. Although Borden and Peterson propose that the repetition of lost communitas results in repeated regret, the ritual itself might serve another purpose. Addressing this possibility, the playwright and composer assert that "perhaps Sakakawea's journey of friendship can guide us unto our future" (Sakakawea Playnotes 6). As Borden and Peterson propose, America is constantly changing, perpetually remaking itself. Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names reminds ritual participants--actors, producers, musicians, and audiences--that diversity could have been, and still can be, America's strength. Since the nation continues to meet "others," because it is constituted of different peoples, America could someday assure that the promise of diversity transcends the evanescence of ritual. Cultural pluralism could become a permanent reality.

William Borden and Thomas Peterson, creators of Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names, thus reflect the legend of one of the nation's most celebrated women. Inspired by the story of her heroic actions, as many other Americans have been in the past century, these men nevertheless interrogate common understandings of that historic moment. As they connect their text with America's cultural debate about conquest and race, Borden and Peterson ask questions which the majority of Sacagawea works have not posed. In doing so, they illustrate the ambiguous results of western conquests and racial interactions on the continent. They do not place particular blame for that past, but instead suggest possibilities for America's future.

In an encounter with contentious national dialogues about manifest destiny and race relations in the last two decades, Sacagawea texts have demonstrated that this historical native woman has remained an important figure of the American West. As Waldo's Sacajawea, The Hamilton Collection plate "Sacajawea," and Borden and Peterson's Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names also illustrate, contemporary writers and artists have adopted her story for disparate purposes. Although historians have generally debated specific "truths" of her life and actions, most Sacagawea texts created for popular consumption have continued to vaunt her as the Indian princess. As the collectors' plate advertisement attests, she is the heroic native who helped in the great civilizing project of the nation's untamed wildernesses. The best-selling romance novel Sacajawea combined such rhetoric with confirmations of the power and strength of American women. Although many Sacagawea proponents have continued to reiterate rationalized frontier myths in this period, at least one text attempts a different kind of cultural work. In Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names, disparate images and meanings emerge from the narrative of America's epic journey. Despite narrative variations and diverse purposes, all of these works testify that Sacagawea remains an inviting subject for American scholars, painters, novelists, and sculptors.

In the concluding chapter of this study, I review images and ideas that have been associated with Sacagawea from the time that members of the expedition captured her in their diaries up to the present. As this survey reveals, Sacagawea's

story has struck a responsive chord in American creators and the nation's audiences for nearly two centuries. In addition to offering the flexibility to address timely issues arising in a dynamic culture, this narrative has always provided its adherents with opportunities to comment upon frontier mythic traditions. Although various critics have called for a halt in the production of works that proliferate frontier myths, especially those reproducing images of Indian princesses, Sacagawea continues to draw artistic champions who market their texts to American audiences.

CHAPTER 6

THE SACAGAWEA LEGEND: PAST IMAGES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Sacagawea's story was originally captured in journals produced by members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the early 1800s, and the legend arose from texts of the progressive era. Offering variations and elaborations of the narrative since that time, a plethora of American works have proliferated the Sacagawea legend. As Bernard DeVoto writes in The Course of Empire, she "has received what in the United States counts as canonization if not deification" (618). This Shoshone woman's story has not functioned to illustrate native peoples' existence on the American continent. Nor has her legend pointed to indigenous interpretations of the mission or the woman. Sacagawea's persistent animation instead has addressed the needs and aspirations of Euro-American culture, an association that has endured for nearly two hundred years.

As DeVoto further asserts, the Sacagawea legend "awaits study by some connoisseur of American sentiments" (618). In this study, I highlight significant, timely national concerns that have intersected with the Sacagawea legend. For instance, many proponents of the legend, especially female writers and speakers since the turn of the twentieth century, have employed her image as a means of examining women's positions and roles in American society. Beginning in the 1940s, some of these same works, as well as others embracing the legend, have

explored concepts of miscegenation. I additionally document that Sacagawea's story, a tale of a native woman's actions during America's epic journey into the wilderness, has always converged with and commented on frontier myths. The Sacagawea legend, born of an intersection of the nation's history, ideologies, and textual production, provides extensive information about Euro-American culture.

Just after the turn of the nineteenth century, Lewis and Clark Expedition diaries and the earliest editorial compilations of those journals reflected and reinforced implicit frontier traditions. As these texts validated, America was embarking on a sacred mission to civilize the continent, and since all indigenous peoples were alike in their ignoble savagery, they were excluded from that process. In nearly constant contact with Sacagawea for two years of the trip, the diarists of the Corps also demonstrated that they generally perceived her to be part of that savagery. She was a squaw, virtually indistinguishable from innumerable other native women. Although descriptions of Sacagawea's activities particularized the expedition narratives to a certain extent, diarists and editors did not define Sacagawea as an heroic woman. Nor did they declare her an "American" heroine.

During the progressive period, American novelists, researchers, sculptors, and other creators transformed Sacagawea from a savage squaw into an Indian princess and initiated and proliferated the Sacagawea legend. Many texts combined declarations of Sacagawea's royalty with evidence of her noble character and heroic actions to document female power and to justify women suffrage. Not simply a

vehicle for suffragists, however, Sacagawea also became an emblem of manifest destiny. As progressive era texts continued to reflect conceptions evinced in rationalized frontier myths, they proclaimed that Sacagawea was an "American" heroine based on evidence of her cooperation and helpfulness during the wilderness mission. They therefore demonstrated Sacagawea's cultural usefulness to explain and justify sacred frontier traditions.

Although rationalized frontier myths had lost much of their compelling potency by the middle of the twentieth century, many popular texts, including works reflecting the Sacagawea legend, illustrated that those traditions continued to inform at least certain populations on the continent. Rehearsing assumptions about civilization's progress on the continent and indigenous peoples' savagery, proponents of the Sacagawea narrative offered variations and elaborations of the legend from the 1940s through the 1960s. Most male novelists delineated a significantly different Sacagawea from the heroic woman portrayed by female writers. As the narratives exemplified, concepts of savagery may not have applied directly to concerns of their own period, but other ideas associated with native peoples were pertinent to cultural conversations of the times. In examining the ideas of native assimilation and taboos of miscegenation, nearly every script incorporated the plot of a romantic entanglement between Sacagawea and one of the captains. All of the works defended social restrictions against interracial relationships and therefore illustrated that the Indian princess of the trans-

Mississippi West reiterated tenets of frontiers myths that related to their own period.

Since 1970, as events on the continent and abroad encouraged cultural dialogues concerning the nation's frontier conquests and the nature of "other" cultures and peoples, proponents of the Sacagawea legend advanced her narrative for various purposes. While certain texts featured Sacagawea as a proto-feminist, a model for the modern, emancipated American woman, these and many others upheld frontier mythic traditions. One work demonstrated, nonetheless, that Sacagawea's story could be used to question social "truths" that her name and image had previously sustained. Even as the popular legend encountered narrative dissention in this period, Sacagawea nevertheless has endured as an important cultural figure in America.

Over a number of years, several critics have sought to uncover reasons for Sacagawea's perpetual popularity. As DeVoto claims, men have fallen in love with her, and women simply become her in their imaginations (Course 614). Texts reviewed in this study provide evidence of DeVoto's assertions, and the latter claim also appears to coincide with other proofs. According to data gathered in a 1989 survey,[1] female participants recalled and recorded Sacagawea's name at a rate that was nearly three times greater than that of male respondents. In addition, the majority of girls and women citing Sacagawea also supplied some historical context of her story and details about her life and activities. They generally specified her

courage, her guidance during the mission, and her heroism. As these notations would appear to indicate, American women have embraced Sacagawea because the legend has depicted her vitality and fortitude and because she suggested that all women possess that potential.

Two texts produced by females support this contention. They also illustrate the flexibility of the Sacagawea story as it provides girls and women with various ways of embracing and demonstrating their own female power. Edith Connelly Clift, for example, wrote the poem "Sacagawea, Guide to the Lewis and Clark Expedition" in 1933 for the Works Progress Administration's Federal Writers Project. After enumerating the achievements of this "humblest of the greatest guides" (line 4), Clift writes that Sacagawea received

> no gain, no glory . . . naught but the gratitude of friends. She asked no more than this, she was content. (lines 28-29)

Clift delineates an heroic guide but one that also remains humble despite the magnitude of her achievements. Although Sacagawea took the lead during the mission, she was satisfied to allow the men to receive the glory. Projecting enduring cultural themes about women's roles in American society, including humility, helpfulness, and contentment through sacrifice, Clift adapts those ideas to the realities of American life during the Great Depression.

In 1989, an eighth-grade student at Belle Terre Middle School in Flagler Beach, Florida, embraces the same story of female heroism and relates to it in a

different way. When she was asked to write an essay about someone she would like to have had as an ancestor, Tish Maclean chose Sacagawea. As Maclean asserts, Sacagawea is her heroine "because she showed bravery and courage. She helped America by guiding Lewis and Clark" (2). Decades after Clift writes of Sacagawea's humility, Maclean exhibits no awareness that this characteristic had been be an intrinsic element of the narrative. According to this young girl, female potency does not imply humility. As Maclean's and Clift's scripts also verify, the Sacagawea legend has endured because of its mutability.

These texts and others also testify to the story's intersection with wider meanings in American culture, its connection to frontier myths. Produced in 1974, the "Young People's Special" television production Sacajawea echoes these same ideas. It also points to other "truths" of the legend. According to the script and photography, Sacagawea was among America's most important heroines. The film illustrates the intrepid woman's heroic acts and highlights the most wonderful moment of the expedition, July 4, 1805. In a break from the arduous trek, the members of the Corps dance and laugh together, celebrating America's independence, their joy an expression of "American" communitas.

This movie nonetheless hints that such jubilation, as well as other common meanings of Sacagawea's existence, are perspectival. As the film begins, scenes of Sacagawea's heroic actions flash across the screen, and the camera zooms in on a native woman laboriously paddling a boat. A woman's voice starts to tell the story

in a native language. Her narrative lasts for only a moment, however, as a man's voice translates her words into English. In the next instant, the man speaks alone. Although this sequence is commonly employed to indicate a continuing translation, the scene also points to the root metaphor of the film and the entire Sacagawea legend. This native woman's story is, and has always been, based upon Euro-American translations and interpretations. Sacagawea has functioned to signify the needs, dreams, and desires of the dominant culture.

Relatively recently, scholars representing a number of academic disciplines have called for a suspension in the production of such narratives. Sharon Murphy, for example, asserts that "The story of American's birth and coming to nationhood is laced with accounts of how white men tamed the wild land . . . and gradually assumed benign dictatorship over nomadic people unable to control their own destiny" (43). While Robert Berkhofer claims that it should not be surprising that Euro-Americans formed such ideas and images, he adds that the remarkable feat was that frontier traditions were so able at adapting the idea of "Indian." For more than two centuries, that image has been repeatedly adjusted to fit the nation's political, economic, and social needs and circumstances (31). Commenting on conquest and native savagery, tales of Indian princesses comprised an important facet of America's sacred narratives. These stories have also contributed to the persistence of such traditions.

Sacagawea is not the only Indian princess, and therein lies the dilemma. In

"The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," Rayna Green cites the damage that these narratives have wrought upon native peoples. According to Green, stories of princesses not only stereotype native women, but they also provide people with a warped understanding of native women's compliance, even complicity, with Euro-American agendas on the continent. As Green exhorts, "It is time that the Princess is rescued . . . [from] her obligatory service" to the dominant culture (714). Since so many Americans have embraced the Sacagawea narrative for so long and for so many varied purposes, Green's admonitions appear to be futile.

Attesting to the continuing appeal of Sacagawea, William Borden writes that a Los Angeles film development company has begun exploring the possibilities of making Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names into a film musical (21 April 1992). Other Sacagawea texts continue to circulate the legend as well. Harry Jackson, a celebrated artist who produces sculptural images of America's western frontier, completed Sacagawea in 1980. Commissioned by the Buffalo Bill Historical Center and donated by Mr. and Mrs. Richard Cashman, the ten foot bronze, polychromed monument stands in the courtyard of the Center.[2] As Donald Goddard asserts in "Shaped from Earth, Immortalized in Bronze: Sculptor Harry Jackson's Sacagawea," this monument places Sacagawea firmly at the "crossroads of the American frontier" (14). Although the statue carries no verbal message, Sacagawea circulates common understandings of the native woman who guided

Lewis and Clark into unknown wildernesses.

Not simply identified with the frontier period, the subject of Jackson's work moreover becomes part of that landscape. As Goddard writes, Sacagawea was

> created by the wind, which sweeps her hair and the enshrouding blanket into diagonal ridges and contours that suggest geological formation. . . [she is] herself a landscape, a promontory of primordial human consciousness shaped by the elements. (15)

Just as in many other texts relating the Sacagawea narrative, Jackson's sculpture delineates a native woman who is connected to the earth. She is an aspect of the frontier. Such portrayals illustrate Annette Kolodny's assertions in The Lay of the Land. As Kolodny contends, Euro-American males envisioned the West in terms of female compliance, awaiting and anticipating male exploration. Commenting on similar ideas in The Vanishing White Man, Stan Steiner argues that the Euro-American male romance with the land constituted a "frontier fantasy." Although Steiner adds that perceptions of a "compliant and passive" earth were inaccurate (205), texts reiterating the idea of the female land and its eager submission perpetuate that "frontier fantasy." Sacagawea relays those concepts.

News articles and other promotional materials about the statue[3] illustrate the same ideas. In A Monument in Bronze: *Sacagawea* by Harry Jackson, historian Larry Pointer cites Sacagawea's contributions to the success of the expedition and writes that "Wyoming is justifiably proud of her progressive native Americans and of Sacagawea, the Shoshone woman who typifies the sterling qualities of her

people" (original capitalization, 19). Echoing arguments of the Dawes era, Pointer cites that Sacagawea's people were "progressive" because they were friendly with Euro-Americans throughout the frontier period. Not simply "leaders in diplomacy," the Shoshones also demonstrated great abilities to adapt to "new challenges" on the Wind River Reservation, according to Pointer. In the same bulletin, Marjorie Spitz writes that the monument is dedicated to "a woman of great patience and indomitable spirit. She is the artist's gift to untold future generations" (20). On the day that Sacagawea was unveiled, July 4, 1980, no one recorded any dissonance that a statue of this native woman was dedicated on anniversary of the nation's independence. No one wrote of the irony that Euro-Americans, and not natives, crowded the courtyard to see the monument.

Hinting at that irony as he writes about the unveiling in "Jackson's Statue Dedicated: nearly half-million in sales," Carl Bechtold indicates another motivation for Jackson's desire to embrace Sacagawea, one which many other proponents of the legend have doubtlessly shared. Texts conveying images of and information about Sacagawea reap large profits. To be more precise, works that reflect and proliferate traditional images of Sacagawea are extremely lucrative. As Bechtold reports, Jackson sold twelve bronze castings of the two-foot studio model in less a thirty minutes after the unveiling. Within twenty-four hours, Jackson had taken orders for more than double that number. At $15,000 apiece, this limited-edition work recorded sales of just under $500,000 in less than a day. By early 1993,

according to the Harry Jackson Original Sculpture price list, these forty bronze pieces realized an estimated market value of $60,000 each. Twenty polychromed bronzes, which also sold out rapidly, are purportedly worth $55,000 dollars apiece.

Since the unveiling of the original monument, Jackson has produced more than eight hundred limited-edition sculptures delineating images of Sacagawea. Although many of these works are sold-old and are now reportedly worth between $53,000 and $60,000 each, some are still available. The eighteen-inch Sacagawea II, for example, retails at $4,900.[4] Completed in 1992, Jackson's latest Sacagawea piece, the twenty-seven inch polychromed, Sacagawea with Packhorse, sells for $25,000.[5] As all of these works testify, American producers and consumers are not ready to give up Sacagawea.

What then may come of Green's exhortations to desert Indian princesses? What can be done to ameliorate the reality that few dissenting portrayals of native women have ever been produced because Euro-Americans have been unwilling to abandon emotionally satisfying and/or economically rewarding traditions?[6] How can Green's belief that native women deserve better definition come to fruition?

Although the Sacagawea legend appears to be flourishing, common meanings of that story have already been subjected to interrogations about conquest and the savagery of native peoples. I recently witnessed the results of such a dialectic. In 1989, when I examined a copy of the 1906 Sakakawea (Bird Woman) Statue Notes in the North Dakota State Historical Society archives, I noticed that the booklet had

been interlined. Someone had crossed out each reference to "squaw" and "papoose" and substituted in their places the words "woman" and "baby." As this text reveals, delineations attesting to natives peoples' savagery no longer convince everyone on the continent. As the cultural dialogue continues, the Sacagawea legend might someday suggest different meanings from those of the past century. Even if that change were to occur, however, Sacagawea's story would, in all likelihood, continue to address the concerns of the dominant culture.

Green's apprehensions about indigenous peoples' perspectives and portrayals of native women might be confronted in another way. Louise Barnett, Philip Butcher, and many other critics agree that America's preoccupation with Indian princesses may not prove so deleterious if historians, painters, novelists, sculptors, and biographers embraced stories of other native women. As Rayna Green writes in "Review Essay: Native American Women," Americans need to learn about contemporary native women, such as the "tribal chairwoman in blue jeans" (265). Demonstrating that "Indians" have not vanished, even if many popular texts seem to deny that existence, such portraits could point to native women's past and present realities.

Various scholars argue that such understandings would emerge if teachers introduced students to materials about native cultures as early as grade school and throughout their education.[7] As school programs and curricula emphasize indigenous peoples' literatures, histories, geographies, languages, and rituals,

students learn about specific cultures, and they also begin to understand the possibilities of diversity. In "Native American Literature in an Ethnohistorical Context," director of Dartmouth's Native American Studies program, Michael Dorris argues that "The discovery of just one other way of being and becoming human puts to rest forever, for that discoverer, the destructive myth of a Euro-American monopoly on civilization, or language, or humanity" (157). Education can provide American students of all ethnicities with the opportunity to examine America's peoples, not simply in conflict with one another, but within their own contexts and as part of the greater nation.

Literature offers another avenue for legitimate portrayals of native peoples. A few novels based on solid research have provided integrated portraits of complex, native cultures. They have also delineated the concept that natives are individuals. According to Leo Olivia in "The American Indian in Recent Historical Fiction: A Review Essay," such portrayals have been offered in Adolf Bandelier's Delight Makers (1890), a story of Pueblo life; Elliott Arnold's Blood Brother (1950), a novel describing Apache culture; Hal Borland's When the Legends Die (1963), a narrative delineating Ute social customs; and a few other novels (98-106).

Although some people may be able to produce sensitive portraits of native life even if they do not share the same ethnicity as their subjects, Philip Butcher argues that "for the fullest expression of the minority presence in America there must be artists who are part of the culture they depict and products of the tradition

they describe" (23). Charles R. Larson presents a book-length analysis of fiction created by native peoples from 1899 through the 1970s in American Indian Fiction, but he also points out that some of these works, which have been attributed to native writers, were authored by Euro-Americans. In addition, many native-written texts published prior to the 1960s demonstrate native authors' internalization of Euro-American interpretations of aboriginal traditions.

Since the late 1960s, creators representing various native heritages have written significant short and long fictions about their cultures. While some refer to the realities of indigenous existence prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans, most delineate contemporary native life on and off the reservation. As Butcher argues, these writers delineate "the predicament of people who are torn between the customs and values of the culture of their birth and those of the dominant society of which they are a part" (23). Some of these self-portraits, including N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn and The Way to Rainy Mountain, Leslie Silko's Ceremony, James Welch's Winter in the Blood and The Death of Jim Loney, Louise Erdrich's Love Medicine and Tracks, have received critical acclaim.

In The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon, Arnold Krupat presents a case for the expansion of the American literary canon to include Native American literatures. As Krupat claims, native literatures present polyvocality, or dialogic models of the self, and form an excellent counter position to the monovocality presented in many American literary works. These are the

very issues at stake in the Sacagawea legend. Whether clinging to frontier traditions or asserting different interpretations, proponents of the Sacagawea narrative have submitted monovocal presentations of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and of Sacagawea's life. If the nation is dedicated cultural pluralism, if the culture is committed to the promise of difference, then the canon ought to allow populations to engage both monovocal and polyvocal versions of America's realities.

North Dakota, my home state, has always celebrated its connection to Sacagawea. There has never been public acknowledgment of dissonance concerning her place in the history of the state, the region, or the nation. When I was growing up, I too joined the ranks as a celebrant of the Sacagawea legend. One of the most exciting events of the school year involved a field trip to the state capital grounds and museum. First we ventured to the top floor, that area designated as "North Dakota's Past." Archivist presented us with evidence of the not-so-distant savagery of the Great Plains. They displayed stuffed bison, elk, and bears, all in threatening postures. Tepees, native clothing, and incredibly crude cooking utensils were exhibited in other rooms on the same floor. Most compelling was the miniature Mandan village, the tiny clay-packed mounds set in the case in the middle of one room. As the display reminded us, Indians had also lived on the plains.

These exhibits were fascinating, exotic, but most assuredly part of North Dakota's past. They signified a vanished life that had been rightly vanquished by

civilization. We viewed displays of an obviously superior culture on the lower floors of the museum. An old-time dentist chair, a real log cabin, and a train engine--these were signs of North Dakota's pioneer days. This was our heritage, emblematic of the great, worthwhile struggle to settle a challenging wilderness.

At noon, we ate our sack lunches outside, gathered beneath Leonard Crunelle's Bird Woman. Frozen forever in time, the native woman gazes west, head high, her baby on her back. For us, she symbolized the possibilities of civilization. We had no doubt that she was one of us, if not by blood, then at least by volition and service to the cause. No one spoke of the irony that surrounded the statue. No one mentioned that this American heroine might more appropriately relate that other past. No one said that her presence could point to a different narrative.

Since that time, North Dakota has erected a new Heritage Center, and a few statues have joined Bird Woman on the state capitol grounds. One bronze piece depicts young pioneer children running hand in hand toward America's future. Bird Woman still faces west. Although neither the state nor the nation may ever forsake Sacagawea, through education, children might learn that Crunelle's text incorporates other national meanings. Perhaps more importantly, North Dakota may provide visual proof of its commitment to cultural pluralism and polyvocality. Someday the state might erect a statue in celebration of a different native woman, a "tribal chairwoman in blue jeans."

NOTES

1: Sacagawea: A Uniquely American Legend

1. Of the three common spellings of this woman's name (Sacagawea, Sakakawea, Sacajawea), I have opted to use Sacagawea. Only in cases of direct quotation will alternate spellings appear. For an analysis of the critical arguments surrounding the spelling, pronunciation, and translation of Sacagawea's name, refer to Appendix A.

2. Respondents were asked, without prompting, to write down the name(s) of any historical American Indian woman(en) about whom they had knowledge. For a copy of the survey form, tabulation of the data, and a narrative analysis, refer to Appendix B.

3. Historical and literary researchers, like Robert Berkhofer in The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present, have wrestled with applying appropriate designations to individuals and groups among the indigenous peoples of the North American continent. Some critics, such as Raymond Stedman in Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture, have adopted and justified their use of the title "Indian(s)." Others, like Joe S. Sando in "White-Created Myths About the Native American," have rejected that reference as mistaken at best and pejorative at worst, instead opting for "Native American(s)."

Since this study addresses the historical existence as well as socially-constructed and culturally-approved images that have defined peoples native to America, I differentiate the two characterizations. Only when highlighting dominant ideological constructions will I employ labels like "Indian," "Indian princess," "squaw," and "noble savage." In all other situations, in an effort to underscore the difference between self-referential and externally-ascribed designations, I use a tribal identification whenever possible. When it is necessary to refer to the collective by collapsing tribal distinctions, I employ "native(s)," "aboriginals," and "indigenous people(s)/groups."

4. Such critics include Jane Tompkins, Philip Fisher, and Myra Jehlen and Sacvan Berkovitch, who published Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction 1790-1860, Hard Facts: Setting and Form in the American Novel, and Ideology and Classic American Literature, respectively.

5. Raymond Firth and Th. P. Van Baaren discuss mythic variation and flexibility in "The Plasticity of Myth" and "The Flexibility of Myths," respectively.

6. They include Julius W. Pratt in "The Origins of Manifest Destiny," John S. Bowman in The World Almanac of the American West, and Frederick Merk in Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History.

7. Others sharing Weinberg's perceptions are Howard Lamar in The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West, Norman A. Graebner in Manifest Destiny

8. These scholars include David Holloway, Frederick Young, and Helen West who present their arguments in "The Higher Significance in the Lewis and Clark Expedition," Lewis and Clark and the Crossing of North America, and "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," respectively.

9. No conclusive evidence has arisen to document the authenticity of Sacagawea's "official" grave on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, and many sources proclaim her burial site lies in South Dakota.

10. Studies include Ward Churchill, Mary Anne Hill, and Norbet Hill's "Examination of Stereotyping;" Philip Fisher's Hard Facts; and D'Arcy McNickle's "American Indians Who Never Were."

11. Wynette Hamilton in "The Correlation between Societal Attitudes and Those of American Authors in the Depiction of American Indians, 1607-1860" and Roger Nichols in "The Indian in the Dime Novel" presnet evidence for these arguments.

12. Donald Kaufmann, Sharon Murphy, and James R. Richburg in "The Indian as Media Hand-Me-Down," "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype," and "Media and the American Indian," respectively, have investigated images disseminated in American media.

13. Among these are the American Indian Historical Society's Textbooks and the American Indian, Lee H. Bowker's "Red and Black in Contemporary American History Texts," Laura Herbst's "That's One Good Indian: Unacceptable Images in Children's Novels," Barbara D. Stoodt and Sandra Ignizio's "The American Indian in Children's Literature, Anne Troy's "The Indian in Adolescent Novels," and Arlene Hirshfelder's American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children.

14. They include William W. Savage in Indian Life: Transforming an America Myth, Roger L. Nichols in "The Indian in the Dime Novel," and Rich

Brenzo in "American Indians VS American Writers."

15. The term "squaw" did not, at first, carry the pejorative connotations that modern readers now associate with its use. According to archaeologist Arthur C. Parker, "squaw" derived from the Narragansett word "squa" meaning "female" and was originally employed by early colonists to designate an Indian woman (Seaver 34; 329). As captivity narratives, dime novels, and other popular texts burgeoned in America, however, the designation "squaw" inevitably came to imply specific negative qualities and behaviors, a stereotype resulting from consistent cultural representation and response to that particular image.

16. These include Leslie Fiedler in "The New Western" and The Return of the Vanishing American, Leitch Wright in The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South, and Albert Keizer in The Indian in American Literature.

17. Since respondents could list as many characteristics as they knew, the total percentage exceeds one hundred.

18. Francis Haines and Natalia Belting express these ideas in "Don't Stereotype Our Indians!" and "The Native American As Myth and Fact," respectively.

2: The Original Expedition Journals and Earliest Editions: Raw Materials of Legend

1. Included in this category are the following: the 1807 M'Keehan edition of Patrick Gass's journal; the 1814 Biddle text; and the Coues edition, an 1893 reissue of Biddle which presents additional annotations, chapter and sub-chapter headings, and selective quotations from the originals.

2. According to Cutright, the Biddle edition did not sell well. One reason for poor sales might have been the seven-year lapse between the conclusion of the exploration and publication, which might have allowed popular enthusiasm for the mission to wane. Another problem could have been the $6 price for the two small volumes. Whatever the causes, sales of the first 2,000 sets did not warrant reprintings, in spite of positive reviews (64-67).

3. Long a part of frontier mythic traditions, Euro-American cultural conceptions interpreted all native economies as savage and thus inferior. This

notion, which complemented other ways of thinking about indigenous peoples, was based upon the understanding that their subsistence strategies consisted of a single type, in spite of evidence that many groups employed agriculture as the mainstay of their existence or as a supplement to hunting and gathering. For an analysis of native agriculture, refer to Douglas Hurt's Indian Agriculture in America: Prehistory to the Present.

4. Typical of many captivity narratives, Hanson related her experience to Samuel Bownas, who subsequently wrote and published the story in the as-told-to format.

5. Such works include James Hosmer's History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark 1804-5-6 (1814); Olin Wheelers' The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904: A Study of the Great Exploration across the Continent in 1803-06; with a Description of the Old Trail, Based upon Actual Travel over It, and of the Changes Found a Century Later (1904); and David Holloway's Lewis and Clark and the Crossing of North America (1974).

6. Since Gass's original journal has never been recovered, the only extant version of his diary is the work edited by David M'Keehan.

7. The original journals contain numerous spelling, capitalization, and syntactical errors. In order to present as accurate a picture of the works as possible, I omit notations of such faults so as not to interfere with comprehension.

8. Since Reuben Gold Thwaites was the first to publish the original journals of Lewis, Clark, and Whitehouse, all subsequent quotations and paraphrases taken from those works refer to the Thwaites edition. I note the volume and pages on which entries appear.

9. Since Milo Quaife was the first to publish John Ordway's original journal, all subsequent quotations and paraphrases taken from this work refer to the Quaife text. I note the pages on which entries appear.

10. David M'Keehan, a little-known book and stationery store owner from Pittsburgh, turned the text into "resolutely correct, preceptorial prose of the early nineteenth-century schoolmaster" (Cutright 28).

11. By the early nineteenth century, according to Barbara Welter in "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," America had codified purity, piety, submissiveness, and domesticity as the cardinal virtues of "true womanhood." Neither the

phrase nor the four traits, consequently, required definition.

12. These works included the following: The Biddle edition, the Thwaites edition, the Coues edition, John Backless's The Journal of Lewis and Clark and his Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery, Richard Dillon's Meriwether Lewis: A Biography, and John Loos's dissertation, A Biography of William Clark, 1770-1813.

13. According to Ronald L. Meek in Social Science and the Ignoble Savage, the four stage theory was a doctrine that dominated socio-economic thought in Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was primarily based on observations of a culture's mode of subsistence. Formulating their hypotheses upon American literature and other textual evidence portraying North American native cultures, theorists embraced a conflated conception of native cultures as exemplifying the first stage, that of a savage, hunting society.

14. As Reginald Horsman writes in "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," popular works had long espoused the innate inferiority of natives, a viewpoint endorsed by scientific theory by the mid nineteenth century.

15. Refer to Appendix C for a chart enumerating the expedition men's and subsequent editors' comments on Sacagawea.

16. Although symbolic universes such as myths attempt to integrate all cultural meanings, theoretical conceptualization can never achieve complete unity, resulting in omissions and lapses in totalizing reasoning and justifications.

17. In Mythography, Doty discusses the operational vitality of myths. According to his definition, frontier myths appear to have been in the "implicit" stage for the men of the Corps since certain concepts emerging from that tradition seem the only natural way of perceiving the world, as evidenced by their lack of awareness of contradictions they record.

18. In order to visualize the expedition route and the general location of significant events involving Sacagawea, refer to the map presented in Appendix D.

19. Although the expedition men refer to Sacagawea's tribe as the Snakes or Shoshones interchangeably, modern tribal members prefer the latter designation.

20. Most editors claim that Lewis and Clark named the river after Sacaga-

wea as a reward for her actions during the squall.

21. Gass might also have included commentary about Sacagawea's illness, but the final edited version offers none.

22. Although the Biddle edition most often compresses incidents and eliminates detail, on certain occasions the editors provide more information than is available in the journals. Additions were possible since Nicholas Biddle supplemented his understanding of events through interviews with Clark and George Shannon, another of the expedition members.

23. Some scholars argue that several journal writers, including John Luttig, Henry Marie Brackenridge, and Francis A. Chardon, document Sacagawea's later whereabouts and her 1814 death. Countering these claims, Grace Hebbard relies on oral tradition to verify assertion that Sacagawea lived to nearly one hundred years old.

3: The Birth and Proliferation of the Sacagawea Legend: The Progressive Era

1. Refer to Appendix E for a chart illustrating Sacagawea's transformation from a savage squaw, as she is defined by original expedition texts and early editions of the journals, into an American heroine and Indian princess, as she is delineated in a representative sampling of progressive era works.

2. In "The Correlation between Societal Attitudes and Those of American Authors in the Depiction of American Indians," Wynette Hamilton concurs with Pearce's conclusion. After 1830, American writers employed images of natives to illustrate the contrast between savagery and civilization.

3. According to John Ewers in "The Static Images," such popular forms as Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show presented a conflation of "colorful" and "exotic" images drawn from Plains groups' clothing, headdresses, and behaviors. Ewers further claims that these conceptions emerged from drawings and paintings of nineteenth-century artists, George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, and Felix O. C. Darley.

4. As Roger Nichols writes in "The Indian in the Dime Novel," dime novels, or "penny dreadfuls," were among the most significant cultural texts that reflected and popularized concepts of savagery in nineteenth-century America.

5. Unlike the Gardiner-Sharp and Kelly captivities, purportedly written by

the redeemed captives themselves, Buckelew's narrative was published in the as-told-to format. Recipient of the captive's oral testimony, S. E. Banta edited and published Buckelew's story.

6. According to J.W. Pratt's "The Origins of Manifest Destiny," newspaper publisher and writer John L. O'Sullivan first used the phrase in an editorial published in New York City's Morning News in 1845.

7. D. S. Otis in The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands, Frederick Hoxie in A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920, and Leonard Carlson in Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land and "Federal Policy and Indian Land: Economic Interests and the Sale of Indian Allotments, 1900-1934" support this contention.

8. In "The Native American As Myth and Fact," Natalia Belting asserts that American works have long vilified Frenchmen who came to America, as they formed military and economic alliances with native groups in opposition to English and American settlement.

9. According to Blanche Glassman Hersh in The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America, the abolition movement was a catalyst to latent feminist sentiment. Hersh adds that subsequent historical events and social conditions engendered the women's movement of the progressive era.

10. Although traditional native groups had no concept of royalty, according to anthropologists and ethnographers, the Indian princess image was useful as it corresponded with European traditions. According to this delineation, an Indian princess was innately extraordinary.

11. Such assertions were typical of suffragist strategies, according to Aileen Kraditor in The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920. As Kraditor and Hersh assert, suffragists based many of their arguments on the special moral and domestic responsibilities that women supposedly maintained in American culture. Inverting previous conceptions of women's biological inferiority, leading suffragists employed such ideas to demonstrate women's superiority and their fitness to vote.

12. As Eleanor Flexner argues in Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States and Ida Husted Harper asserts in The History of Woman Suffrage, woman suffrage was not easily won. Success was not possible, according to these writers, without leadership by such women as Elizabeth

Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Anna Howard Shaw. Even these devoted leaders could not accomplish their goal until American culture envisioned a legitimate role for women outside the confines of the domestic sphere.

13. Dye's publishers, McClurg, offered three printings of The Conquest between November 1902 and January 1903.

14. George Watson, David Madden, and Angus and Jenni Calder outline characteristics of historical romances and Sir Walter Scott's novels in The Story of the Novel, A Primer of the Novel, and Scott, respectively.

15. In "Lust Between the Bookends," a chapter in Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture, Raymond Stedman offers an excellent overview of images associated with savage men. As Stedman claims in his text and Louise Barnett asserts in The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism and "Nineteenth-Century Indian Hater Fiction: A Paradigm for Racism," such culturally-approved concepts emerged from captivity narratives and other colonial texts.

16. In Hard Facts, Philip Fisher argues that popular novels, such as those written by James Fenimore Cooper, rehearse the inevitability of the annihilation of natives and the destined pioneer settlement on American wildernesses.

17. According to Belting, French fur traders signified the antithesis of American values and beliefs and the dangers of the frontier. Richard Slotkin also discusses this concept in Regeneration Through Violence. Unlike such marginal characters, American heroes had to overcome the lure of the wilderness as they penetrated unknown territories. Armed with newly-acquired skills obtained through their initiation in the wilderness, they employed violence to pave the way for civilization.

18. Concurring with Flexner, Kraditor, and Harper, William Forrest Sprague claims in Women and the West: A Short Social History that leading suffragists appropriately centered their efforts in the West prior to the turn of the century because of the acknowledgement of frontier women's contributions to the establishment of civilization.

19. This bronze work, designed and executed by Alice Cooper, was funded through contributions from Federated Women's Clubs across the country. According to Millard McClung, reference librarian of the Oregon Historical Society, the statue was moved to its present location in Portland's Washington Park in 1906.

20. Harrington cites Carl Bitter, Chief of the Department of Sculpture for the St. Louis Exposition. She also notes that the statue has since been lost.

21. For a chronological list of texts that provide extensive commentary on Sacagawea from 1804 through 1992, refer to Appendix F.

22. A photograph of Bird Woman, which depicts Sacagawea and her infant, is presented in Appendix F.

23. Although 20,000 copies may not seem considerable, this number probably blanketed the state since the population of North Dakota was approximately 300,000 in 1900, rising to about 500,000 by 1910, according to census documents.

24. Other sources have repeated this claim, including the 1916 pamphlet, Sakakawea: The Indian Girl Who Helped to Open an Empire and a 1922 news article, "Sa-ka-ka-we-a Trail. Named for the Indian Bird Woman."

25. Several texts, such as "The Story of 'Bird Woman,'" proclaim that Sacagawea was "the Western Pocahontas."

4: Variation and Elaboration: The Sacagawea Legend from the 1940s through the 1960s

1. Illustrating patterns of textual production, Appendix F presents a chronological listing of works that have featured Sacagawea.

2. According to "Sacagawea: A Symposium," Hebard helped to draft and circulate a woman suffrage petition that was directed to the Constitutional Convention of Wyoming in 1889.

3. During the same decade, the federal government employed Dr. Charles Eastman, a Sioux who graduated from Dartmouth in 1887 and received his M.D. from Boston University in 1890. As he investigated Sacagawea's burial site, Eastman conferred with some of the same informants and agreed with Hebard's conclusions.

4. Although she offered no evidence from written sources or eye witnesses, Eva Emery Dye previously asserted that Sacagawea was as slight and slender as an Euro-American woman.

5. These researchers generally cite evidence from Luttig's and Brackenridge's diaries, as well as a journal entry written by Clark during his years as the governor of the Louisiana territory.

6. As indicated in Appendix C, Lewis and Clark noted that Charbonneau beat Sacagawea on two different occasions during the trip. Progressive era texts nevertheless omitted such information.

7. Appendix H illustrates plot and character variations that appeared in works written by men and women during this period.

8. Not only adopting the Hebard version of Sacagawea's later life, these texts portray her early years by expounding on bits of information presented in original expedition scripts.

9. Researchers have offered a plethora of studies delineating film portrayals of America's native peoples. They include Michael Hilger's The American Indian in Film, Jenni Calder's There must be a Lone Ranger, Rich Brenzo's "American Indians vs American Writers," Donald Kaufmann's "The Indian as Media Hand-Me-Down," John Price's "The Stereotyping of Native American Indians in Motion Pictures," Sharon Murphy's "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype," John C. Ewers's "The Static Images," Gretchen Bataille's and Charles Silet's The Pretend Indian: Images of Native Americans in the Movies, Philip French's "The Indian in the Western Movie," Ralph and Natasha Friar's The Only Good Indian . . . The Hollywood Gospel, and Hedy Hartman's "A Brief Review of Native Americans in Cinema." In the following paragraphs, I present a brief overview of their findings.

10. Refer to Appendix I for figures that present information about American films featuring native peoples. Figure 6 illustrates the numbers and percentages of films featuring a native woman. Displaying analysis of specific images, Figure 7 indicates the numbers and percentages of movies portraying the Indian princess, the savage squaw/fury, and so forth.

11. As Kathleen Houts and Rosemary Bahr assert in "Stereotyping of Indians and Blacks in Magazine Cartoons," cartoons published in Saturday Evening Post from 1922-1931 and from 1958-1968 were almost exclusively oriented toward the past. The figure most frequently depicted was the warrior, "a primitive, historical bow-and-arrow type who has no place in the modern society" (113).

12. In Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture,

Werner Sollors documents that the phrase "melting pot" originated from Israel Zangwill's 1908 play, The Melting Pot (66-68).

13. The image of the orchestra, according to Gleason, was first proposed by Horace Kallen in his 1915 essay, "Democracy vs the Melting Pot: A Study of American Nationality" (43).

14. Many works, including Fixico's text and Tom Holm's "Fighting a White Man's War: The Extent and Legacy of American Indian Participation in World War II," cite Navajo "code-talkers" as evidence of native people's readiness for assimilation.

15. According to Fixico, the first step toward termination was the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946. The commission codified procedures for native people to sue the federal government for land which they felt had been illegally expropriated. Although this might appear to have benefitted only natives, Leonard Carlson concludes in "What Was It Worth? Economic and Historical Aspects of Determining Awards in Indian Land Claims Cases" that gratuitous offsets and lack of interest on the awards protected the U.S. treasury against large claims.

16. Brophy was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

17. Matusow and Viorst concur that the "Black Power" movement and ghetto riots of the mid 1960s fostered a backlash in mainstream America. Although racial enmity was primarily directed toward African-Americans, other minority groups also felt the impact.

18. As Sherry Ortner contends in "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" women have been depicted as separated from culture as a result of their association with their "natural" bodily functions.

19. Emmons's text reached more people than book sales document since her script was transformed into a screenplay for The Far Horizon, a major Hollywood film produced in 1955. Despite poor notices, a cast of major stars drew thousands of viewers.

20. According to the 1993 Associated Press news story "1 of every fifty marriages is interracial," since the Supreme Court struck down state laws prohibiting interracial marriages, the number of interracial marriages has doubled.

In spite of the increasing reality of such relationships, "many American still seem fixated by interracial romance . . . and there is an occasional cross-burning or other acts of racial prejudice and hatred."

21. This interpretation coincides with Slotkin's contentions about the American hero. It also corresponds to interpretations concerning "squawmen."

22. Refer to Appendix I for data delineating film portrayals of romantic connections between the Indian princess and the "civilized" hero.

23. Among these texts, The Far Horizon has been Hollywood's sole attempt to relate the narrative of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Donna Reed becomes a nearly white Sacagawea who fixates on the dashing Clark, played by Charleton Heston. Faithful to the original novel to a great extent, screenwriters and directors designate that Charbonneau is the villain of the piece and thereby legitimate Sacagawea's response to Clark. Presenting the familiar and popular plot of unrequited love of the Indian maiden for the "civilized" hero, the film was nonetheless panned by reviewers in Time, Newsweek, Commonweal, America, and The New York Times.

Although film makers' experimentations with stories of miscegenation were common, creators of The Far Horizon omit the presence of Baptiste, Sacagawea's baby. Probably concerned that images of a baby in the midst of a love story about its mother would be disturbing, writers and producers never ventured beyond culturally acceptable visions of frontier traditions. American audiences may have been ready for another version of hopeless love of an Indian princess for a gallant captain in the wilderness, but they were never invited to recognize that the man could return those emotions. Nor were they asked to consider that such a relationship might endure.

24. These statistics are delineated in Figure 9 of Appendix I.

25. Henry's title, The Gates of the Mountains, was culled from Dye's The Conquest.

26. Like other writers, Henry illustrates that most, if not all, squawmen on the continent were French. Unlike American heroes, these men capitulated to savagery and produced monstrous progeny.

27. Contradicting original expedition journals, Henry claims that Clark, and not Lewis, ministered to Sacagawea during the difficult delivery. Employing a novelist's prerogative, Henry rearranges many scenes to emphasize Clark's contact

with Sacagawea.

5: The Sacagawea Legend since 1970: The Proliferation of Popular Traditions and Dissenting Portrayals.

1. Historians embrace a project that began sporadically in the mid 1960s. Penning "The Mystery of Sacagawea's Death" in 1967, Helen Howard reviewed evidence and proclaimed that Sacagawea was the interpreter and guide of the expedition. Two years earlier, in "Sacajawea--Inspiration Maid" Bernard DeVoto stated that she had been helpful during the journey, but denied that her translating was significant. He also contends that she did practically no guiding.

2. Others concurring with Howard during this period have included Howard Lamar in The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West and John Bowman in The World Almanac of the American West. They both declare that Sacagawea was a guide.

3. This film aired in a half-hour television segment.

4. Refer to Appendix I, Figures 8 and 9, for these data.

5. Mary Anne Ferguson's Images of Women in Literature, Marina Warner's Alone of All Her Sex, and many other studies analyze images that have defined women.

6. Refer to Appendix J for a fold-out color brochure advertizing this plate. Distributed by The Hamilton Collection, the pamphlet provides a photograph of the David Wright print, but the advertising copy is somewhat different from the advertisement which appeared in Parade Magazine in October 1989.

7. Teddy Roosevelt is also an important historical figure in North Dakota because he spent some time on a ranch in the Badlands in the western portion of the state.

8. Borden does not specify which edition he read, but it was, in all likelihood, the Thwaites text since that is now considered the most authoritative version of the expedition.

9. Borden doubtlessly read Hebard's biography, considering the final approach to the production.

10. Borden is referring to Anna Lee Waldo's Sacajawea.

11. Citations to Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names refer to act and page numbers of the written script.

12. The ellipses are presented in Borden's script, indicating the overlapping songs.

6: The Sacagawea Legend: Past Images and Future Prospects

1. Refer to Appendix B for information about the survey and a narrative analysis of the data. Figure 1, appearing in Appendix B, provides data of participant responses.

2. A black and white photograph of Sacajawea appears in Appendix K of this study.

3. In addition to the Goddard article, the following materials promote the statue: Harry Jackson: Thirty Works, a book offering color plates of Jackson's smaller pieces; A Monument in Bronze: *Sacagawea* by Harry Jackson, a thirty page booklet by Donald Goddard, Larry Pointer, and Marjorie Spitz detailing the narrative and visual history of the monument; and "Jackson's Statue Dedicated: nearly half-million in sales," an news article by Carl Bechtold recounting the dedication ceremonies.

4. The lower price certainly reflects the fact that Jackson produced 350 castings of this bronze piece.

5. Jackson cast twenty-two of these bronze works.

6. As Green also notes, most dissenting depictions are perfunctory, and equally harmful, portraits of the squaw.

7. Critics suggesting this strategy include Francis Haines in "Don't Stereotype Our Indians!" Jarold Ramsey in "The Teacher of Modern American Indian Writing as Ethnographer and Critic," Michael Dorris, in "Native American Literature in an Ethnohistorical Context," and Anna Lee Stensland in Literature by and about the American Indian: An Annotated Bibliography for Junior and Senior High School Students.

APPENDIX A

THE SPELLING, PRONUNCIATION, AND TRANSLATION OF "SACAGAWEA"

For over a century, one of the most hotly-contested issues connected with Sacagawea has been the "correct" spelling, translation, and pronunciation of her name. The debate has even invaded popular culture, as seen when several characters on thirtysomething argued about her name and its pronunciation during a camping trip. Initiating the controversy, scholars have chosen a variation, defended their decisions, and submitted "proof" of the inaccuracy of all other versions.

Jane Tompkins' commentary in "Indians: Textualism, Morality, and the Problem of History" relates to this facet, as well as many other aspects, of Sacagawea scholarship. As Tompkins suggests, in spite of confrontations with "incommensurable accounts" (103) shaped by contradictory ideologies and varying perspectives, a critic must adduce evidence and cite authorities in an effort to fit a story together "according to what seems reasonable and plausible" (118). This is exactly what Sacagawea scholars have done, yet complications arise because disagreements over what is "reasonable and plausible" prevail.

The controversy over Sacagawea's name stems from two central causes. First, the primary sources documenting Sacagawea's existence, the journals of Lewis and Clark and several other men on the expedition contain ambiguities.

Second, linguists have disagreed in their translations of relevant native languages and transliterating their sounds into English. Although Sacagawea was unable to write, the expedition journals provide evidence concerning her name. Lewis and Clark usually refer to Sacagawea as the "Indian woman" or the "Squar" [squaw], but on occasion they write her name phonetically. In doing so, they employ a variety of different spellings, such as "Sah-cah-gar-weah," "Sah-cah-gah-wea," and Sah-car-gar-wea" (Hebard, Sacajawea 287).

Pronunciation questions spring from spelling irregularities. Discounting the "r" at the ends of these syllables, linguists have attributed its written presence to a Southern "r" sound which sometimes follows a soft "a," just as "Squar" has signified "squaw" (Hebard 287). Although researchers universally concur on this point, two other pronunciation concerns have remained, those of accented and unaccented syllables and the nature of the "g" sound in the third syllable. Is it a hard "g" as in "gargle" or a soft "g" as in "giraffe"?

Because of these ambiguities, no one, in all likelihood, will ever certify Sacagawea's "true" name. That has not stopped scholars from offering views. Once opinions are sorted out, however, it becomes evident that an analysis of why people have opted for particular versions becomes more important than producing yet another "definitive" proclamation. A simultaneous analysis of historical evidence and scholarly perspectives reveals that a variety of factors, rather than the relative merits of that evidence, appears to have motivated researchers' choices.

Based on a nexus of issues, three groups or "schools" have emerged, privileging either "Sacajawea," "Sacagawea," or Sakakawea."

The first, or "Sacajawea," school originated from the earliest publications of the expedition journals. Editor Nicholas Biddle decided upon the soft "g" sound and changed the letter to a "j." The first syllable, in addition, became heavily accented and the fourth lightly accented (Cutright 60; Howard 16). Researchers adopting this designation inevitably state that Shannon, Biddle's advisor on a number of issues, was one of the members of the Corps of Discovery and therefore had actually known Sacagawea. They also add that he was a good speller and that he had attended some college (eg. Hebard 288; Howard 16).

In spite of such pronouncements, a second school has questioned the validity of this spelling and pronunciation, hinging their arguments on evidence from the original journals. The "Sacagawea" scholars explain that although she was originally a Shoshone, the Hidatsas named her "Sacagawea" after her capture. According to linguist C. L. Hall, the Hidatsa language does not employ the "ja" sound, (Reid, Lewis and Clark 68). The "g," as a result, is hard, with the second syllable heavily accent and the fourth lightly accented. In addition, Dr. Washington Matthews, a compiler of an Hidatsa dictionary, writes that "bird" is "tsakaka" and that "woman" is "wea" in Hidatsa. Since the journals certify that "Sacagawea," when translated into English, is "Bird Woman," acceptable transliterations of her name are "Tsakakawea," "Sakakawea," "Sakagawea," and "Sacagawea" (Reid

Sakakawea, 10; Anderson "Sacajawea," 310).

An offshoot of the second school, the "Sakakawea" group has the smallest number of proponents. In agreement concerning the Hidatsa origin and translation of the name, these scholars favor what they consider to be stricter adherence to a more "legitimate" transliteration from the harsh-sounding and guttural language. Since a "k" produces a more explosive burst of air from the throat than does a "g," "Sakakawea" is their preferred spelling. They assert that this provides a closer reproduction of spoken Hidatsa and is therefore a more authentic version of the name (Anderson "Sacajawea," 310).

In response to the claims of the other two groups, researchers from the "Sacajawea" school still maintain that their version is correct. They have expanded their arguments. Citing the work of John Rees, a lay authority on Lemhi Shoshone culture, they argue that although "Sacagawea" means "Bird Woman" in Hidatsa, "Sacajawea" translates as "Boat Pusher" or "Boat Launcher" in the Shoshonean language. The Shoshone people purportedly gave her this designation as a result of her association with the expedition boats (Hebard 288; Howard 16; cf. Anderson, "Sacajawea" 306). Although linguistics professor Dr. Sven Liljeblad claims that "Sacajawea" would be incomprehensible to a native Shoshone (Anderson, "Sacajawea" 306), "Sacajawea" is still widely-recognized in the United States.

Most researchers, whether privileging "Sacajawea," "Sacagawea," or "Sakakawea," call for universal adoption of their own preference, showing no

willingness to compromise. An investigation of the options, however, points to a number of implicit motivations driving each version. As David L. Shaul notes in "The Meaning of the Name Sacajawea," each choice correlates to the researcher's geographical region. His arguments, although pointing in the right direction, fail to account for other reasons that have spurred specific choices. They include one or more of the following: tradition, proximity to either the Shoshones or Hidatsas, the need to reach a wide audience, and U.S. government endorsement.

People originating east of the Mississippi have employed "Sacajawea" almost exclusively. Examples include histories such as Richard Dillon's Meriwether Lewis: A Biography and a great number of historical fictions such as Vardis Fisher's Tale of Valor: A Novel of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Will Henry's The Gates of the Mountains, and Kate Jassem's Sacajawea: Wilderness Guide. While probably possessing no vested interest in any tribe, these researchers have opted for "Sacajawea" for a number of possible reasons. First, this designation carries the appearance of authenticity, as established by the earliest publications about the expedition. Nicholas Biddle and Elliott Coues chose "Sacajawea" in editions of the journals published in 1814 and 1893, respectively (Cutright 53-63, 73-78). Many researchers undoubtedly adopted this variation because well respected Eastern scholars endorsed it. Since then, others may have accepted "Sacajawea," in spite of later arguments, from a sense of allegiance to their own regional preference. Perhaps most compelling, however, may be their wish to

appeal to the widest possible audience. Focused on the densely populated eastern United States, artists have likely seen no advantage in abandoning the designation "Sacajawea," the name that most readers already recognize. Once such a pattern of reference has been established, it remains potent because of tradition itself.

"Sacajawea" has also been the preferred version in some Far Western states, especially Oregon, Montana, and Wyoming. First to establish this practice was Oregonian suffragist Eva Emery Dye, who published The Conquest in 1902. Producing the first popular novel about the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Dye held fervent ambition to reach a wide audience, as noted in her diary and personal correspondence (Clark and Edmonds 92-3). Other researchers from this region might also have been persuaded by the need to appeal to a large readership, but those living in Wyoming and Montana appear to have been motivated by an additional factor, their geographical proximity to the Shoshone tribe. Since "Sacajawea" is the variation associated with the Shoshonean language and tribe, scholars from this region have unanimously endorsed that designation. Their use of "Sacajawea" has, in fact, established a particular focus for the entire narrative. Rather than featuring the Hidatsas, or the beginning and ending of the expedition, or the Missouri River region, this group has emphasized the Shoshone contribution, the negotiations and travails occurring in the middle portions of each leg of the exploration, and the area that would later become Montana and Idaho. The refocused narrative is especially evident in the writings of Grace Hebard, an

historian who spent more than thirty years researching "Sacajawea's" life.

Writers and artists originating from or residing in North and South Dakota, on the other hand, have long employed the "Sakakawea" variation. They include Russell Reid and Doane Robinson, directors of North and South Dakota's state historical societies, as well as William Borden and Thomas Peterson, collaborators on North Dakota's 1989 state centennial musical drama, Sakakawea: The Woman with Many Names. Although these writers would no doubt aspire to attract a broad audience, regional incentives have taken precedence. Since "Sakakawea," when spoken, purportedly imitates Hidatsa phonetics most closely, one compelling factor for this choice has been the presence of the Hidatsa reservation within the borders of North Dakota. Another reason "Sakakawea" has been preferred in this area is the claim that she died and was buried at Fort Manuel, located in what would become South Dakota. Since both states have long claimed Sacagawea as their own most famous "daughter," founded on her residence there and on her purported burial sight, the "appropriate" state designation has helped to solidify the sense of regional identity and pride.

While some have deferred to "Sacajawea" or "Sakakawea" in order to reach a wide audience or to appeal to regional partisanship, the "Sacagawea" school largely consists of contemporary scholars from various regions. They include historians Donald Jackson, Paul Cutright, and John Backless. Since members of this "school" may have no compelling reasons to espouse either the North and

South Dakota or the Wyoming, Montana, Idaho interpretations, they may well have been persuaded by scholarly arguments surrounding the issue. Another possibility, however, highlights that this group probably has not been immune to external influences. Several United States government agencies, including the U.S. Bureau of Ethnography, the U.S. Geographic Board, the Dictionary of American Biographies, the U.S. National Park Service, and the National Geographical Society, initiated the current scholarly trend. Choosing from the various spellings established by Hidatsa linguistic patterns, they deemed "Sacagawea" her "official" name in 1933 (Anderson "Sacajawea," 310).

The writings of Ella Clark possibly illustrate this kind of influence. In her early works, published in small, regional journals, Clark clearly privileges the "Sacajawea" designation. She doubtlessly chose this version as a result of her research among the Shoshones. Clark's latest enterprise, however, is Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, written in collaboration with Margot Edmonds and printed by the University of California Press. In order to be published by a major university press, Clark may well have experienced some level of constraint to conform to the designation currently endorsed by the scholarly community.

While an analysis of the specific motivations for individual writer's choices must remain somewhat speculative, patterns of preference are evident. Most Easterners and a number of Far Westerners have chosen "Sacajawea," North and South Dakotans have opted for "Sakakawea," and recent scholars who have not

shared the incentives of the first two groups have employed "Sacagawea." It appears that each "reasonable and plausible" choice, steadfastly explained and defended, has been founded upon ideology and perspective more so than the merits of evidence. This fact illustrates, in miniature, the challenge of any project focusing on this native woman.

APPENDIX B

THE AMERICAN INDIAN WOMAN: A SURVEY

Between February and March 1989, I surveyed 494 people residing in the United States to discover the extent of their knowledge about historical American Indian women. I was particularly interested in ascertaining how many could recall and record the name "Sacagawea," or a reasonable facsimile, and any historical context about her.

Survey sites included Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Daytona Beach, Florida, Belle Terre Middle School in Flagler Beach, Florida, Burleigh County Court House offices in Bismarck, North Dakota, Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, and the U.S. Geological Survey offices in Houston, Texas. While under supervision, the respondents filled out the survey form. They wrote down personal data as well as the name(s) of any historical American Indian woman(en) about whom they had knowledge. Participants included males and females who were from twelve to over sixty years old, representing a variety of ethnicities, U.S. regions and foreign countries, and educational levels. Following this synopsis, I provide a copy of the survey sheet and a break-down of the data.

Of those surveyed, 198 (40%) entered no data other than their personal profile. The remaining 296 (60%) supplied the name(s) of one or more Indian

woman(en). By far, the most widely known were Pocahontas and Sacagawea, with 249 and 100 responses, respectively. In essence, of those participants who recalled any information, 85% remembered Pocahontas and 56% remembered Sacagawea. Only 12 (fewer than 5%) entered data about any other native woman. As these figures point out, a person was half again as likely to recall Pocahontas's name and something of the historical circumstances surrounding her story than that of Sacagawea. This disparity held true in many subcategories, such as those in all age ranges, those in all race and ethnicity groups, those who are males, those with some college, and those from most geographic areas. In four categories, however, Sacagawea was almost as well, or better, remembered than Pocahontas. They included respondents who were female, those who had completed less than or equal to a high school education, those who had completed at least a four year college degree, and those who identified their homes as the Midwest of Upper Midwest.

While I hesitate to comment on the significance of variations showing up in participants' abilities to recall Sacagawea based on educational levels, the other two categories require some analysis. Reasons for differences based on geographical region seem apparent. People from the East, especially from the Southeast, have probably read or heard more about Pocahontas, a figure whose story emerged from their own area. Participants from the Midwest, however, have certainly been exposed to Sacagawea at least as much as they have to Pocahontas in state histories, as well as paintings and statues displayed in public places.

Other factors were undoubtedly influential in the subcategory of gender. Whereas more than four times as many males recalled Pocahontas as they could Sacagawea, females knew them nearly equally. A clue to possible causes of this contrast between male and female responses may be revealed in the other comments they supplied on the survey form. Males who offered data on the questions of historical context, physical characteristics, and personality traits most often noted that Pocahontas was beautiful, had long black hair, and was engaged in a sexual or love relationship with Captain John Smith. Recording far less information about Sacagawea, most males noted only that she was associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Females, on the other hand, wrote down as much information about Sacagawea as they did about Pocahontas. While they concurred with males in their descriptions of Pocahontas, female respondents provided data about Sacagawea that included physical characteristics, relationships, and her actions. They asserted, for example, that she had been the guide to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, that she had shown great courage through the long trip, that she had carried a baby on her back the entire way. These factors might point out why women have remembered Sacagawea in greater percentages than have men. Not just another woman worthy of male admiration because of physical beauty and sexuality, Sacagawea may signify for them a model of female strength and courage, perhaps serving as an inspiration for their own lives.

Overall, survey data indicate that a wide variety of Americans can recall and record the names of, and pertinent historical information about, both Pocahontas and Sacagawea. Although the reasons for remembering these women vary and seem dependent upon such factors as gender and geographical region, Americans continue to honor them as cultural heroines.

The American Indian Woman : A Survey

I. PERSONAL DATA:

1. Age: _____
2. Sex: F _____ M _____
3. Race or Ethnicity: _____
4. Highest Level of Education: _____
5. U.S. Geographic Region of Your Home: _____
6. Your Home Country, if outside the U.S.: _____

II. SURVEY INFORMATION:

In the spaces provided in Section III, record information about any **historical American Indian woman or women** about whom you have knowledge

A. List her name.
B. List any **historical context** you know. Items might include the geographical area, the approximate time-frame, and other historical figures associated with her.
C. List any **physical characteristics** and **personality traits** you associate with this woman.

III. DATA:

A. _____
B. _____
_____
C. _____
_____
_____

A. _____
B. _____
_____
C. _____
_____
_____

If you know other examples, please list the information on the back of this page.

FIGURE 1
SURVEY DATA[1]

SUBGROUP	*TOTAL NO.*[2] #	%	*WITH DATA* #	%	*POCAHONTAS* #	%[3]	*SACAGAWEA* #	%[3]
AGE								
9–18	148	(30)	93	(63)	73	(78)[4]	37	(39)[4]
19–22	230	(47)	133	(58)	111	(89)	31	(23)
>22	116	(23)	70	(60)	57	(81)	32	(46)
SEX								
Male	369	(75)	218	(59)	199	(91)	49	(22)
Female	125	(25)	78	(62)	50	(64)	51	(65)
RACE/ETHNICITY								
Caucasion	434	(88)	274	(63)	229	(84)	95	(35)
African–American	25	(5)	9	(36)	8	(89)	2	(22)
Other[5]	35	(7)	13	(43)	12	(92)	3	(23)
EDUCATION								
<= High School	58	(12)	35	(58)	19	(54)	20	(57)
Some College	402	(81)	233	(58)	209	(52)	56	(24)
>=BS/BA	34	(7)	28	(82)	21	(62)	24	(86)
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION								
S or SE	208	(42)	129	(62)	111	(86)	47	(36)
N or NE	164	(33)	97	(59)	93	(92)	17	(18)
Midwest	83	(17)	56	(68)	32	(59)	31	(55)
West	15	(3)	11	(73)	11	(100)	4	(36)
Other[6]	24	(5)	3	(13)	2	(66)	1	(33)
TOTALS	**494**	**(100)**	**296**	**(60)**	**249**	**(85)**	**100**	**(56)**

[1] Shading indicates that Sacagawea percentages were nearly equal to or greater than Pocahontas.

[2] Each subcategory contains raw numbers and percentages ( ), rounded to the nearest whole number.

[3] These percentages are a function of "With Data," participants supplying data.

[4] Since participants could supply multiple entries, these percentages may total more than 100%.

[5] "Other," in this subcategory, indicates respondents who reported their race or ethnicity as Native American or Asian–American.

[6] "Other," in this subcategory, indicates participants who reported that the U.S. was not their country of origin.

APPENDIX C

FIGURE 2
EXPEDITION INCIDENTS INVOLVING SACAGAWEA[1]

DATES	INCIDENT	EXPEDITION JOURNALS 1804–1806					EARLY ED.		LATER EDITIONS				TOTAL
							1814	1893	1904	1916	1953	1964	
		L[2]	C[2]	W[2]	G[3]	O[4]	BID[5]	COU[6]	TH[2]	QU[4]	DV[7]	BK[8]	
11/11/1804	APPEARS AT FORT										2	2	9
12/25	CHRISTMAS DANCE												2
1/20/1805	PREGNANT AND ILL												3
2/11	BAPTISTE BORN												7
4/7	ON PERSONNEL LIST									2			10
passim	GATHERS/PREPARES FOOD	5	8			2	2	2					20
5/13	1ST SQUALL INCIDENT												2
4/14–16	2ND SQUALL INCIDENT	2											7
5/20	RIVER NAMED FOR												3
5/29	EXAMINES MOCCASINS												5
6/10–19	ILLNESS & RECOVERY	8	9	3		4	2	2					29
6/29	STORM & FLASH FLOOD												8
passim	WALKS ON SHORE	3	2	2			2						11
passim	RECOGNIZES COUNTRY	2					2					2	10
7/28–30	AT ABDUCTION SITE	2				2							10
8/14	BEATEN BY HUSBAND												2
8/15	RATTLESNAKE INCIDENT												3
8/17	MEETS SHOSHONES												9
passim	SERVES AS INTERPRETER	3	4				2	2					14
8/25	AVERTS TREACHERY												5

Figure 2 continued on next page.

FIGURE 2 CON'T
EXPEDITION INCIDENTS INVOLVING SACAGAWEA[1]

DATES	INCIDENT	EXPEDITION JOURNALS					EARLY ED.		LATER EDITIONS				TOTAL
		1804–1806					1814	1893	1904	1916	1953	1964	
		L[2]	C[2]	W[2]	G[3]	O[4]	BID[5]	COU[6]	TH[2]	QU[4]	DV[7]	BK[8]	
10/13–19	SERVES AS PEACE SIGN		2										4
11/20–21	BELT/OTTER ROBE TRADE		4										7
11/24	VOTE/WINTER QUARTERS												4
11/30	GIVES CLARK BREAD		2										4
12/25	GIVES CLARK PRESENT		2										3
1/6/1806	SEES THE WHALE												5
7/1	WITH CLARK'S PARTY												4
7/6	POINTS OUT PASS												2
7/13–14	SERVES AS GUIDE		2				2	2					7
8/17	LEFT AT FORT MANDAN												6
1804–6	TOTAL NOTATIONS	38	48	8	9	19	27	31	7	14	9	9	217

[1] Shading indicates that expedition members noted incidents in their journals, that early editors selected and edited entries of the events, and that later editors offered additional commentary about Sacagawea as they related the incidents. A number indicates multiple entries.

[2] In 1904–6, Reuben Gold Thwaites (TH) published the original journals of Lewis (L), Clark (C), and Whitehouse (W).

[3] In 1811, David M'Keehan edited and published Gass's journal (G).

[4] Milo Quaife (QU) published Ordway's original journal (O).

[5] Nicholas Biddle and Paul Allen (BID) published and edited portions of Lewis's and Clark's journals.

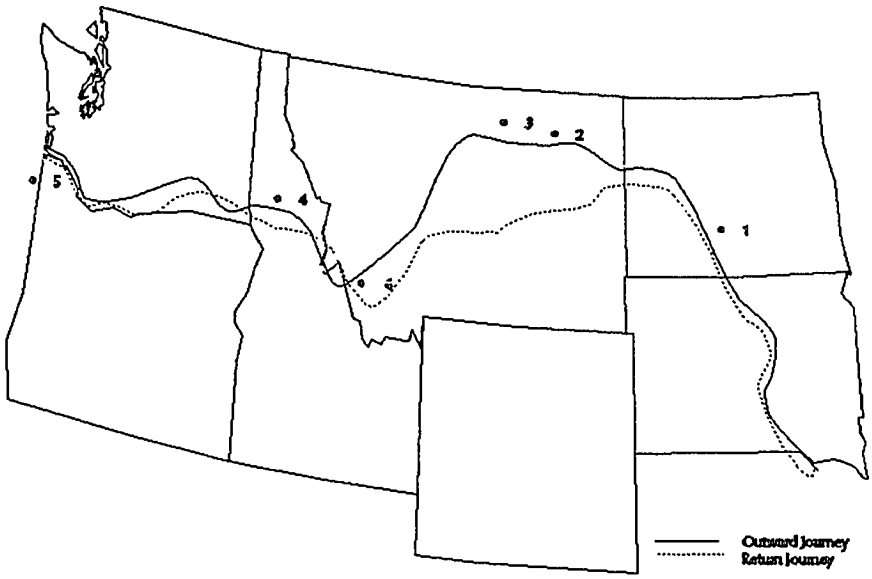
[6] Elliott Coues (COU) edited portions of Lewis's and Clark's journals and provided additional editorial commentary.

[7] Bernard DeVoto (DV) published portions of the original journals and the Biddle edition and provided editorial commentary.

[8] John Backless (BK) published portions of Lewis's and Clark's journals and provided editorial commentary.

APPENDIX D

Figure 3
THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION TRAIL



October 1804 - August 1806[1]
FEATURED EVENTS INVOLVING SACAGAWEA

DATE	*PLACE*	*EVENT*
Oct. 1804	1	Arrival at Ft. Mandan
Feb. 1805	1	Birth of Sacagawea's baby
Apr. 1805	1	Departure from Ft. Mandan
May 1805	2	Squall incident
June 1805	3	Sacagawea's illness
Aug. 1805	4	Among the Shoshones
Jan. 1806	5	Whale incident
July 1806	6	Sacagawea's guidance of Clark
Aug. 1806	1	Leave-taking at Ft. Mandan

[1] Although state and country borders did not exist during this period, I supply them in order to visualize the geography of the trail more readily.

APPENDIX E

FIGURE 4
SACAGAWEA'S TRANSFORMATION FROM A SAVAGE INTO AN INDIAN PRINCESS[1]

DATE	AUTHOR	GENRE	TEXTUAL COMMENTARIES ABOUT SACAGAWEA					
			HELPFUL	SAVAGE	PRINCESS	GUIDE	KEY	AM. HEROINE
1804–6	LEWIS	JOURNAL						
1804–6	CLARK	JOURNAL						
1804–6	WHITEHOUSE	JOURNAL						
1804–6	GASS	JOURNAL						
1804–6	ORDWAY	JOURNAL						
1814	BIDDLE & ALLEN	JOURNAL EDITION						
1893	**COUES**	**JOURNAL EDITION**						
1902	HOSMER	HISTORY						
1902	**DYE**	*** NOVEL**						
1904	ZIMM	STATUE						
1904	HOSMER	HISTORY						
1905	COOPER	* STATUE[2]						
1905	FLETCHER	ARTICLE						
1905	CHANDLER	ELEM. READER						
1907	HEBARD	* ARTICLE						
1910	**CRUNELLE**	*** STATUE[2]**						
1916	HOUGH	NOVEL						
1918	SCHULTZ	NOVEL						
1918	WOLFROM	PLAY						

1 Shading indicates that Sacagawea was defined as a "savage," a "key" to the mission, and so forth, in germinal texts and in progressive works.

2 Although the Cooper and Crunelle statues do not verbalize that Sacagawea was a princess, ceremonies and promotional materials emphasized that designation.

* An asterisk indicates texts created by suffragist(s). Texts in bold are analyzed in Chapter 3 of this study.

APPENDIX F

A CHRONOLOGY OF TEXTS COMMENTING ON/FEATURING SACAGAWEA

GERMINAL TEXTS: 1800-1890

1800-1890:

* Gass. Journal of the Voyage and Travels of A Corps of Discovery. 1804-6.
* Lewis and Clark. Original Journals. 1804-6.
* Biddle and Allen. History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri. 1814.

THE INITIATION OF THE SACAGAWEA LEGEND: 1891-1919

1891-1899:

* Coues. History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark. 1893.

1900-1909:

* Dye. The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark. 1902.
Hosmer. History of the Louisiana Purchase. 1902.
Zimm. Unnamed Sacagawea statue, St. Louis. 1904.
Hosmer. Gass's Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. 1904.
Thwaites. Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. 1904-1906.
Young. "The Higher Significance in the Lewis and Clark Expedition." 1905.
Laut. "What the Portland Exposition Really Celebrates." 1905.
Fletcher. "Sacajawea." 1905.
Porter. Unnamed Sacagawea statue, Portland. 1905.
McGuire. Sacajawea. 1905.
Chandler. Bird Woman of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. 1905.
Sakakawea (Bird Woman): Statue Notes. 1906.
Hebard. "Pilot of First White Men to Cross the American Continent. 1907.
"Sakakawea." Evening Times. 1907.
Judson. Montana, the Land of Shining Mountains. 1909.

1910-1919:

Hodge. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. 1910.

Young. "Sakakawea: A Poem." 1910.
"Statue Unveiling At State Capitol Is Unique Event." 1910.
* Crunelle. Bird Woman. 1910.
"Bronze Tablet Placed on Sakakawea Statue." 1911.
Hosmer. History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark. 1914.
Scott. Sacajawea. 1915.
Palmer. "Sakakawea Statue Recalls Early History." Originally written 1916.
"The Story of the 'Bird Woman'." 1916.
Hough. The Magnificent Adventure. 1916.
Sakakawea--The Indian Girl Who Helped to Open an Empire. 1916.
Quaife. Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway. 1916.
Wolfrom. Sacajawea, the Indian Princess. 1918.
Schultz. The Bird Woman. 1918.
Edge. "Sacagawea, A Wonderful Woman." 1919.
Rees. "Madame Charbonneau." Originally written 1919.
Rees. "The Shoshoni Contribution to Lewis and Clark." Originally written 1919.

THE INTERIM PERIOD: 1920-1939

1920-1939:
"Sa-Ka-ka-we'-a Trail." 1922.
Creel. "The Path of Empire." 1926.
Crawford. "Sakakawea." 1927.
Defenbach. Red Heroines of the Northwest. 1929.

1930-1939:
Seymour. Women of Trail and Wigwam. 1930.
* Hebard. Sacajawea. 1932.
Clift. "Sacajawea, Guide to the Lewis and Clark Expedition." 1933.
Hebard. Pathbreakers from River to Ocean. 1933.
Hall. The Great Adventure. 1935.
Churchill. South of the Sunset. 1936.

VARIATION AND ELABORATION OF THE LEGEND: 1940-1969

1940-1949:
Sprague. Women and the West. 1940.

"Sacajawea: A Symposium." 1941.
Adams. "The Six Most Important American Women." 1941.
* Peattie. Forward the Nation. 1942.
* Emmons. Sacajawea of the Shoshones. 1943.
Kingston. "Sacajawea as Guide." 1944.
Ross. "Heroine in Buckskin." 1944.
"Statue of Sakakawea May Be Put in Hall of Fame." 1945.
Seymour. Sacagawea: Bird Girl. 1945
"Sakakawea--The Bird Woman." 1946.
Backless. Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery. 1947.
Reid. Lewis and Clark in North Dakota. 1947.
Smith. With Her Own Wings. 1948.

1950-1959:
Adams. Who Was Who in America. 1950.
Reid. Sakakawea, the Bird Woman. 1950.
Stevens. Famous Women of America. 1950.
DeVoto. Course of Empire. 1952.
Farnsworth. Winged Moccasins. 1954.
Pringle. "Saccajawea of the Shoshones." 1955.
Osborne. Peaceful Conquest. 1955.
The Far Horizon. Paramount film. 1955.
Drury. "Sacagawea's Death, 1812 or 1884?" 1955.
Clark. "Sacajawea Loyally Served Lewis and Clark." 1955.
Clark. "Sesquincentennial Remembrances." 1955.
Robinson. "Sakakawea--Sacajawea?" 1956.
Lavender. Land of Giants. 1956.
Fisher. Tale of Valor. 1958.
Seymour. Sacagawea. 1959.
Haines and Morrill. Lewis and Clark. 1959.
Munves. We Were There with Lewis and Clark. 1959.

1960-1969:
Seibert. Sacajawea. 1960.
Falkenhagen. "The Native American in Juvenile Fiction." 1961.
Young. "The Mother of Us All." 1962.
* Henry. The Gates of the Mountains. 1963.
DeVoto. The Journals of Lewis and Clark. 1963.
Backless. The Journals of Lewis and Clark. 1964.
Waltrip and Waltrip. Indian Women. 1964.
Blessinghame. Sacajawea, Indian Guide. 1965.

DeVoto. "Sacajawea--Inspirational Maid." 1965.
Tomkins. The Lewis and Clark Trail. 1965.
Clark. Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies. 1966.
Clark. "Where Is the Grave of Sacajawea?" 1967.
Patterson. "Trail of Sakakawea Memorials Pursued." 1967.
Voight. Sacajawea. 1967.
Andrist. To the Pacific with Lewis and Clark. 1967.
Howard. "The Mystery of Sacajawea's Death." 1967.
Taber. "Sacajawea and the Suffragettes." 1967.
Humphrey. Women in American History. 1968.
Fiedler. The Return of the Vanishing American. 1968.
Chandler. "Sidelights on Sacajawea." 1969.
Eidie. American Odyssey. 1969.

POPULAR TRADITIONS AND DISSENTING PORTRAYALS: 1970-1993

1970-1979:

Anderson. "Profiles of the American West." 1970.
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*** Asterisks indicate texts that are analyzed in this study.**

APPENDIX G

Figure 5
Leonard Crunelle's Bird Woman

Photo: North Dakota State Historical Society

APPENDIX H

PLOT AND CHARACTER IN SACAGAWEA TEXTS, 1940–1969[1]

FIGURE 6
REPRESENTATIVE TEXTS PRODUCED BY MEN

DATES	AUTHOR	GUIDE	EVIL HUSBAND	ROMANCE	EXPED ONLY	ENTIRE LIFE
1942	* PEATTIE			LEWIS		
1944	KINGSTON					
1950	ADAMS					
1958	FISHER			CLARK		
1959	MUNVES			CLARK		
1963	* HENRY			CLARK		
1965	BLASSINGAME			CLARK		

FIGURE 7
REPRESENTATIVE TEXTS PRODUCED BY WOMEN

DATES	AUTHOR	GUIDE	EVIL HUSBAND	ROMANCE	EXPED ONLY	ENTIRE LIFE
1943	* EMMONS			CLARK		
1944	ROSS					
1945	SEYMOUR					
1954	FARNSWORTH			CLARK		
1955	PRINGLE			CLARK		
1964	WALTRIP			CLARK		

[1] Shading indicates that novelists embraced the story of the "expedition only," identified Sacagawea as the "guide," and so forth.

* Texts analyzed in Chapter 4 of this study.

APPENDIX I

AMERICAN FILMS OFFERING IMAGES OF NATIVE PEOPLES[1]

FIGURE 8
AMERICAN FILMS FEATURING A NATIVE WOMAN

FILMS	PERIOD			
	1903–29	*1930–49*	*1950–69*	*1970–84*
TOTAL NUMBER OF FILMS	242	167	173	100
# ABOUT A NATIVE WOMAN	60	29	40	28
% ABOUT A NATIVE WOMAN	25%	17%	23%	28%

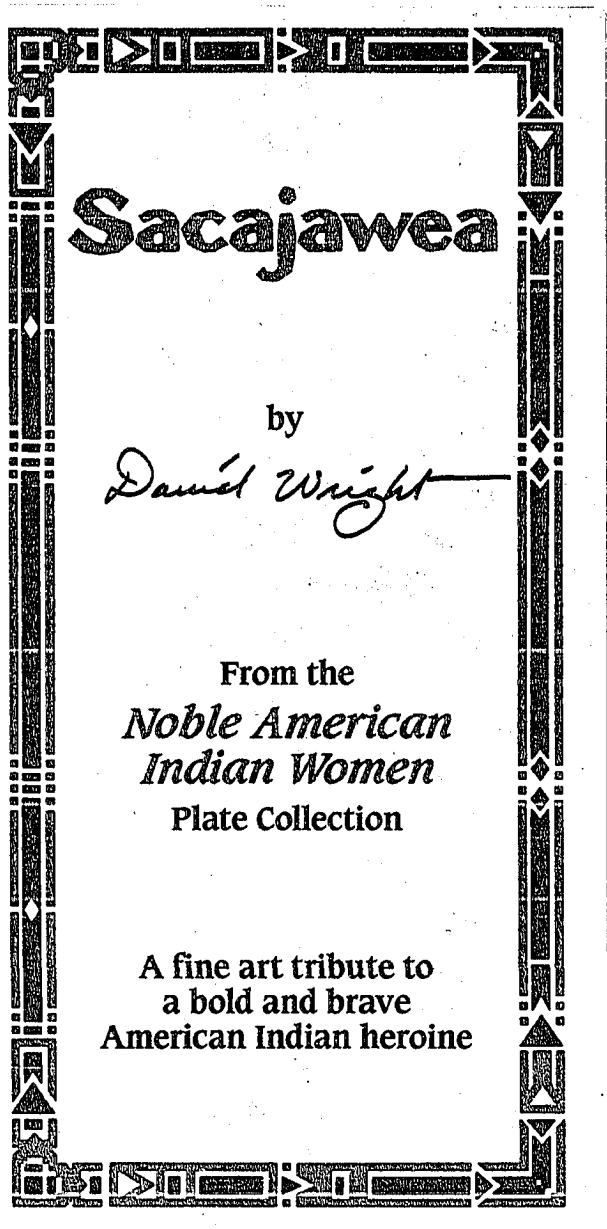
FIGURE 9
IMAGES OF NATIVE WOMEN IN AMERICAN FILMS[3]

FILMS	PERIOD			
	1903–29	*1930–49*	*1950–69*	*1970–84*
# ABOUT NATIVE WOMAN	60	29	40	28
FILM IMAGES[2]	# %	# %	# %	# %
INDIAN PRINCESSES	47 (78)	23 (79)	26 (65)	15 (54)
ROMANTIC CONNECTION	22 (37)	8 (28)	14 (35)	8 (29)
SQUAW/FURY	4 (6)	1 (3)	2 (.5)	4 (14)
TRADITIONAL WIFE/MOTHER	0 (O)	2 (7)	9 (23)	11 (39)
EDUCATED WOMAN	0 (O)	2 (7)	0 (0)	4 (14)

[1]Data compiled from Michael Hilger's The American Indian in Film.
[2]Data derived from images delineated in films featuring a native woman (Figure 8).
[3]Data reported in raw numbers and percentages ( ), rounded to the nearest whole number.

APPENDIX J

Figure 10
The Hamilton Collection "Sacajawea" Plate



Brochure: The Hamilton Collection

APPENDIX K

Figure 11
Sacagawea, 10' Painted Monument by Harry Jackson

Photo: Harry Jackson Studios, 1981

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